

THE HISTORY OF POST-WAR WESTERN EDUCATION IN COLONIAL MALAWI 1945-61:
A STUDY OF THE FORMULATION AND APPLICATION OF POLICY.

by

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DECLARATION

I DECLARE THAT THIS THESIS HAS BEEN COMPOSED
BY MYSELF AND REPRESENTS MY OWN WORK, EXCEPT
FOR SUPERVISION FROM PROFESSOR G.A. SHEPPERSON,
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MISSION STATIONS 1945

Malawi

SCALE - 1:1,000,000

LEGEND

- Liv.....Livingstonia Mission
- Cof S.....Church of Scotland, Blantyre Mission
- D.R.C.....Dutch Reformed Church
- A.M.E.....African Methodist Episcopal
- UMCA.....Universities Mission to Central Africa
- WF.....White Fathers
- M.F.....Marist Fathers
- B.I.M.....Baptist Industrial Mission
- Z.I.M.....Zambezi Industrial Mission
- S.D.A.....Seventh Day Adventist
- N.I.M.....Nyasa Industrial Mission
- S.A.G.M.....South African General Mission
-Mission
-Town

Source : R.J. Macdonald, "History of African Education...."

(Drawn By Billy Juma)

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ABSTRACT

The post-World War II colonial reconstruction programmes for economic recovery and general political and social development in Malawi (then known as Nyasaland) necessitated increased education. But the sincerity of metropolitan development plans for the colonies could only be adequately appraised through the degree of demonstrated commitment in the implementation of the announced plans.

This thesis seeks to examine chronologically the development and application of colonial education policies during the period 1945 to 1961 in Malawi. The parties involved included the British Colonial Office, the Nyasaland Protectorate Government and the Christian missionaries on the one hand, and the European settlers, Asian, Coloured and African communities on the other as the target groups of the policies.

Devising educational policies of equitable benefit to all the racial and social groupings in Malawi posed enormous problems to the colonial administration. This study, examining the dynamics and course of policy, contends that, given the prevailing economic and political conditions, non-European education, especially that of Africans, experienced retardation in favour of European education. Sometimes apparent Governmental ineptitude, combined with calculated needs for the Europeans, produced under-development for African education in Malawi and the country's economy. In the end, African education operated against the odds of missionary and Government apathy.

This study discusses the impact on education, generally, of the Nyasaland Post-War Development Programme, the Colonial Office Commissions of 1947, 1951 and 1961, and the local Committees set up to inquire into the retardation of African education in its various categories, including female and Muslim, in response to both local and international pressure. Although considered a priority, African education developed slowly, contrary to the declared goal of Post-War colonial policy of self determination with its potential demands for trained local manpower. The thesis demonstrates the tenacity of the Federal Government of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in playing down African education as a political strategy from 1953 to 1961 at the same time as it accorded a better deal to Asian and Coloured education.

This dissertation which, for lack of space, has not included vocational and technical education and mass and adult education, represents the first combined study of both African and non-African education in Malawi, especially in the post-World War II period.

ABBREVIATIONS

<u>Col Rev</u>	<u>The Colonial Review</u>
<u>C.O.</u>	<u>Colonial Office</u>
<u>Ed Dep Rep</u>	<u>Education Department Annual Report</u>
<u>H.A.S.</u>	<u>Harvard African Studies</u>
<u>H.E.Q.</u>	<u>History of Education Quarterly (New York)</u>
<u>I.R.M.</u>	<u>International Review of Missions</u>
<u>J.A.H.</u>	<u>Journal of African History</u>
<u>J.E.A.H.</u>	<u>Journal of Educational Administration and History</u>
<u>J.M.A.S.</u>	<u>Journal of Modern African Studies</u>
<u>J.R.A.</u>	<u>Journal of Religion in Africa</u>
<u>J.S.A.H.S.</u>	<u>Mohlomi, Journal of Southern African Historical Studies</u>
<u>J.S.A.S.</u>	<u>Journal of Southern African Studies</u>
<u>M.J.S.S.</u>	<u>Malawi Journal of Social Science</u>
<u>M.N.A.</u>	<u>National Archives of Malawi</u>
<u>N.A.C.R.</u>	<u>Nyasaland Colonial Annual Report</u>
<u>N.J.</u>	<u>The Nyasaland Journal</u>
<u>N.L.S.</u>	<u>National Library of Scotland</u>
<u>P.R.O.</u>	<u>Public Record Office</u>
<u>S.M.J.</u>	<u>Society of Malawi Journal</u>
<u>T.J.H.</u>	<u>TransAfrican Journal of History</u>

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

THE TRADITIONAL BASIS OF EDUCATION IN MALAWI

In the historical study of western education in Malawi some knowledge of the country and its indigenous people serves an important function in the appraisal of the effectiveness and failure of the foreign educational system. Malawi,¹ the smallest country of the former British Central Africa, which also included Zimbabwe and Zambia, has always been the most densely populated in the region, with a population larger than that of Zambia. This population density can be explained by the hospitable physical geography, defensibility and an abundance of arable land to support the people. Besides, while the absence of lethal cattle diseases like rinderpest and widespread tsetsefly has ensured the availability of cattle and other animals for meat, and vast Lake Malawi has served throughout the ages as a great source of fish for protein, the lakeshore region has always played host to a dense population of different tribes.

Malawi, like other countries, has several local tribes with their individual cultures and social customs. But besides the indigenous African population, other groups of note include the European, Asian and Coloured factors all of whom constitute the history of the colonial era. However, it is the study, albeit brief, of the tribal groups regarding their social systems which will reveal the degree of their receptivity to foreign education. In this regard the Arab-Swahili influence among the Yao of Mangochi and the Chewa of Nkhota Kota commands a place within the context of Islam with its elements of education in competition against Christian civilisation.

Although Malawi has several tribes, the Tumbuka and the Ngoni in the North, the Chewa in the Centre and South and the Yao in the South would serve roughly as representative of the others in so far as they occupy very prominent places in the country. The Tumbuka, believed to have entered Malawi from the West,² form

the dominant tribal feature of the northern region. It is of course true that the area between the Songwe River in the North and the Dwangwa River in the South held many other tribes **such as** the Tonga, Kamanga, Henga, Phoka, Ngonde, Lambya, Nyika and other smaller groups all of them immigrants who entered Malawi since the 16th century. But the Tumbuka influence spread out in the form of the Chitumbuka language which functioned almost as the lingua franca of the region. Even the 18th and 19th century immigrants like the Balowoka and the Ngoni adopted Chitumbuka. When the first Mission, the United Free Church of Scotland Mission (Livingstonia Mission) entered the northern region in the 1880's, the Tumbuka³ served as the nucleus contact group and, eventually, as the springboard to get to the "wild" Ngoni⁴ who, in terms of ethnographical study seem to have eclipsed the Tumbuka because of the former's war accomplishments. The Tumbuka, a Bantu tribe, imparted traditional education to their young ones through the initiation ceremonies. As in other Malawian societies like the Chewa and Yao, a boy went through initiation rites which introduced him to a peer group. These rites of passage brought the initiates into the world of adulthood with an understanding of the social and cosmological forces that promoted cohesion, harmony and equilibrium in the society⁵. Unlike the Chewa, the Tumbuka have no organised initiation for girls characterised by the Nyau ceremonial dance. A girl at puberty underwent a longer rite for a month within the village when older women counselled her into adulthood.

The traditional education of the Chewa revolved around the Nyau cult which permeated almost all forms of social relationships. Education to the Chewa was extremely functional in the preservation of socio-psychological equilibrium and harmony. It served as a source of vital social control important in the effort to ensure non-deviant behaviour.

The Nyau cult lay at the centre of Chewa religion in so far as people used the Nyau dance in religious ceremonies⁶. The Nyau institution, characterising the various Maravi groups including the Mang'anja, or Nyanja and Chewa both in Malawi and Mozambique and Zambia, stands out as one of the most forceful features of

Chewa life. Unlike initiation ceremonies of various types in different tribes, that associated with the Nyau proved extremely conservative and almost impervious to foreign influences like western education which was considered too narrow for a proper upbringing of a Chewa youth. This partly explains the absence of enthusiastic response and acceptance of western education among the Chewa in the Central Region of Malawi where the Nyau institution dominates. The position was made worse by the outright missionary condemnation of the Nyau as devilish and of no important use in the society⁷. This missionary attitude simply created an environment of anti-western education among most of the Chewa, leading to educational under-development and stagnation in the Central Region of Malawi. From available evidence it is clear that although the Maravi tribal derivatives of the Mang'anja or Nyanja, covering the Southern Region of Malawi, have practised the Nyau institution, with some minor variations, the Chewa have upheld this traditional rallying dance with the greatest tenacity..

Initiation ceremonies among the Chewa were several and each marked a developmental stage in the rites of passage among both boys and girls with the Nyau dance operating as the main accompaniment for some of the rituals. The first of such rituals for girls came at puberty when a girl received from elderly women instruction in morality, marriage and personal hygiene. Girls at puberty went into seclusion for as long as four days, immersed in instruction from Anamkungwi (instructors) well versed in tradition. The enormity of the Namkungwis' teaching role lies in the parental trust in their performance in moulding an adult character in the children. At this rite the Nyau dance is performed if it coincides with a chiefly decision to mount a full-scale initiation ceremony. In that situation the girls' initiation may also be used as an occasion for that of boys. Girls' initiation usually features more prominently than boys'. What is important, however, is the fact that the initiation introduces the youth to the knowledge of the adult world. While girls are instructed in a

selected house in the village, boys spend their time at the Nyau camp in the bush or sheltered graveyard where apart from the normal instruction in personal behaviour and social relationships, they also learn the construction and handling of Nyau costumes and paraphernalia. The Chewa or Maravi believed in upbringing children in the proper traditional counsel for the moral and social health of the society, well instructed in social and family life including the significance of death. The secrecy surrounding the Nyau dance represented the general secrecy of adult life.

Other instructive ceremonies for girls included those at pregnancy and childbirth where the more practical aspects of life received emphasis. These two related ceremonies helped the young to cope with the task of motherhood, the pivot of life. In contrast the major ceremony for boys was the initiation into the secret Nyau society which formed the rallying point for the Chewa male adults in their religious and cultural expression. The Nyau institution distinguished the Maravi from most other tribes including the Yao although the Yao had a Nyau version called Yinyago mainly for entertainment and without any significant religious function.⁸

The Yao, a Bantu group from Mozambique are nineteenth century immigrants into Malawi⁹ who spread throughout the Shire Highlands and the Southern lakeshore region. Like the Maravi or Chewa, the Yao strong belief in traditional education found expression in various initiation ceremonies like lupanda and jando for boys and chiputu, msondo and litiwo for girls.

The Yao perform initiation ceremonies mainly between the ages of roughly eight and twelve although older candidates are not uncommon. Although jando is the more popular boy's initiation these days lupanda is the more traditional type, the equivalent of the female chiputu. Jando for boys and msondo for girls are the Islamised forms of initiation¹⁰ marked by circumcision in the former and kusingula or baptism in both, performed by an ulama or mwaliimu. However, common in all these ~~are~~^{are} the lengthy periods of instruction in social, moral and other forms of behaviour marking these important rituals into the adult world. New initiates, on completion of their encampment, delighted in adult company and

considered as derision any uninitiated youth failing to recognise the new status and names. As Tew points out, "after initiation it is a deadly insult to call a boy by his child name".¹¹

Initiations represent a source of happiness to parents who handsomely reward the instructors for a good job. But the excellence of the job remains to be seen through deeds, and any observed character imperfections in the initiates demonstrated by time constitutes a mark of discredit to the instructors. The jubilant dancing and festivities marking the end of the initiation symbolise the dawn of an era for the youth.

The litiwo ceremony, on a girl's first pregnancy or child, remains an exclusively mothers' show. It is an occasion for instruction in motherhood and mothercraft. In the case of a married pregnant woman the husband shared the benefit of instruction in maternal care and understanding. This rite characterised all traditional societies and tribes in Malawi. Missionaries had to contend with some of the customary beliefs permeating these rites most of which received condemnation. In most cases little if any effort was made by missionaries and other foreigners to understand tribal life and the type of education that held it together, in Malawi and elsewhere.

The most difficult area for the colonial forces to understand was the close link between the spiritual, social and material aspects of traditional education. In traditional society little separation existed between learning and labour, or between physical and intellectual labour.¹² Traditional education equipped people "to meet the material, spiritual and social needs of society".¹³ African youths were taught how to cope with their environment through a proper grounding in social skills, behaviour patterns and beliefs. In any study of African education variations of approaches to initiations and rites of passage in different tribal groups are inevitable. However, the underlying common factor in these variations was the ultimate aim to create out of the youth valuable, thinking and thoughtful citizens of the society prepared to face and handle the challenge of their future life as mature men and women. These were some of the valuable aspects of traditional education which often eluded the colonial western educationists.

In a way, where traditional education occupied a very strong place, local reception to western education was never encouraging, the Chewa of Central Region or the Yao serving as cases in point. This led to inevitable differentiation. Social change among such tribes stagnated, with the ultimate result that at independence in the early 1960's only a handful of educated Malawians to occupy relevant positions in government and industry came from such tribes.

This background information on African traditional education is important in appraising colonial educational successes and failures. But this is by no means adequate; other groups for focus in colonial education included the non-Africans like Asians and Europeans whose educational demands could not be ignored.

On the African side this study seeks to examine colonial education policies in the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors with female and Muslim secular (Western) education forming their own components. The dissertation aims to demonstrate the link in all these aspects of education in policy formulation and implementation. This represents a study in policy shrouded in confusion and uncertainty at the crossroads of the post-1939-1945 War period.

The education for non-African minorities posed a big challenge to the often-emphasised policy of African upliftment, and yet the Government's obligation towards the education of such people, in view of their economic and administrative skills, could not be dismissed. Government had to balance, often ineptly, the educational needs of all the population groups, an effort whose results by 1961 were still minimal in the new nation.

The study of education for the chosen period is too vast for comprehensive coverage of all areas within the stipulated length of this work; so that the failure to include areas of education such as technical and vocational, mass and adult, and character training in no way reflects any insignificance of these aspects in the history of education in Malawi. Similarly some detailed focus on the responses of individual tribes to western education vis-a-vis traditional education and beliefs would have attempted to demonstrate the basic origins of educational differentiation

among the various tribes; but this would appropriately constitute a study of its own.

This work, undertaken after the various political changes in Central Africa leading to new names, has contended with the use of these new names, but this has not always ensured uniformity because of the context and meaning of a particular nomenclature, so that, quite often, names such as "Nyasaland" and "Malawi", "Northern Rhodesia" and "Zambia", "Southern Rhodesia" and "Zimbabwe", and "Salisbury" and "Harare" have been used interchangeably without, in any way, implying contempt for the new political order in these countries.

This study represents the first attempt at examining not only the post-War education as such but also the minority African groups like women and Muslims and communities including Asians, Coloureds and Europeans. Attention will be given to the attendant political dynamics governing the development of educational policy for all the racial groups, carefully underlining the sources of official preferential treatment in the education of particular groups.

Footnotes to Chapter 1 - Introduction

1. Malawi often spelt by the early Portuguese as Maravi, is the ancient African name of the country called the Nyasaland Protectorate by the colonizing British from 1907 to 1964 when the country gained its political independence and reverted to Malawi. The country lies roughly between latitudes 9° and 17° S and longitudes 33° and 36° E.
2. H. Leroy Vail, "Suggestions towards a reinterpreted Tumbuka history", in B. Pachai, ed. The Early History of Malawi (Longman, London 1972), passim. Hereinafter Pachai, Early History.
3. A detailed treatment of the Tumbuka by Rev. T. Cullen Young, Notes on the History of the Tumbuka-Kamanga Peoples in the Northern Province of Nyasaland (Religious Tract Society, London 1932), passim. Hereinafter Young, Tumbuka-Kamanga Peoples. Also Mary Tew, Peoples of the Lake Nyasa Region (O.U.P., London 1950), ch. III. Hereinafter, Tew, Lake Nyasa Region.
4. A detailed study of the Ngoni is by W.A. Elmslie, Among the Wild Ngoni (Frank Cass edition, London 1970- 1st edition 1899), passim. Hereinafter Elmslie, Wild Ngoni. Also Margaret Read, The Ngoni of Nyasaland (Frank Cass edition, London 1970), passim. Hereinafter Read, Ngoni. For the Ngoni and Western education see Idem, "The Ngoni and Western Education", in Victor Turner, ed., Colonialism in Africa (C.U.P., London 1971), Vol. III. Hereinafter, Turner, Colonialism.
5. See details in T. Cullen Young, Notes on the Customs and Folklore of the Tumbuka-Kamanga Peoples (Mission Press, Livingstonia, 1931) pp 50-58. Hereinafter Young, Customs and Folklore. Also Tew, Lake Nyasa Region pp 63-64.
6. Several articles featuring this important Nyau institution include M.G. Marwick, "Notes on some Chewa Rituals" African Studies Vol 27 No. 1 (1968); W.H.J. Rangeley, "Nyau in Nkhota Kota District", N.J., Vol 2 No. 2 (July 1949) part I, 35-49. Idem N.J., Vol 3 No. 2 (July 1950) Part II, 19-33; M. Scoffeleers, "The Nyau Societies: Our Present Understanding", S.M.J. Vol XXIX No. 1 (1976). Idem and Ian Linden, "The Resistance of the Nyau Societies to the Roman Catholic Missions in Colonial Malawi", in Terence Ranger and Isaria Kimambo, eds., The Historical Study of African Religion with Special Reference to East and Central Africa (Heinemann, London 1972); J. Kuthemba Mwale, "The Problems of Research into the 'Reserve' An Attempt to Probe into a Secret Institution", History Research Seminar Paper, Chancellor College, Zomba 1980.

Footnotes to Chapter 1 - Introduction (Cont'd)

7. See portions of J.G. Steytler, Educational Adaptations with Reference to African Village Schools with Special Reference to Central Nyasaland (Sheldon Press, London 1939); M.W. Retief, William Murray of Nyasaland (Love-dale Press 1958 ed) Passim. Isaac C. Lamba, "The Cape Dutch Reformed Church Mission in Malawi: A Preliminary Historical Examination of its Educational Philosophy and Application 1889-1939", forthcoming in H.E.Q. (New York) and T.J.H. (Nairobi 1983).
8. See Meredith Sanderson, "Inyago- the Picture Models of the Yao Initiation Ceremonies", N.J. VIII, 2 (1955) pp 36-57.
9. The Yao have been covered by several scholars including Duff Macdonald, Africana or the Heart of Heathen Africa (Sampkin Marshall and Co., London 1882) Vol. I. Herein-after Macdonald, Africana; J.Clyde Mitchell, The Yao Village: a study in the Social Structure of a Nyasaland Tribe (Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, Manchester University Press, Manchester 1956). Hereinafter Mitchell Yao Village. H.S. Stannus, "The Wayao of Nyasaland", H.A.S. III (1922); Yohanna B. Abdallah, The Yaos: Chakala Cha Wayao; (Frank Cass, London 1973 ed.) Hereinafter Abdallah, Yaos; Alpers, "Trade, State and Society among the Yao in the nineteenth century" J.A.H. X3 (1969).
10. David S. Bone, "Islam in Malawi", J.R.A. XIII 2(1982) p.128. (PP126-138). Tew, Lake Nysas Region, p 21.
11. Tew, Lake Nyasa Region p22.
12. Agrippah T. Mugomba and Mouga Nyaggah eds, Independence Without Freedom: The Political Economy of Colonial Education in Southern Africa (ABC-Clio, Santa Barbara and Oxford, 1977) p.i. Hereinafter Mugumbo and Nyaggah, Indepence Without Freedom.
13. Ibid. Also see K.A.Busia, Purposeful Education for Africa (Mouton, Paris 1968) ch.I. Hereinafter Busia, Purposeful Education. Also C.S.Furley, O.W. and Watson, T., A History of Education in East Africa. (Nok Publishers London 1978) ch.I. Hereinafter Furley and Watson, History of Education.

CHAPTER II

PRIMARY EDUCATION FOR AFRICANS

The effect of education is to improve the value of colonial production by raising the level of intelligence among the mass of indigenous workers as well as the number of skills.¹

If education represented "the most important single instrument for the attainment of modernization",² it has equally on many occasions served a "manipulative function for perpetuating class or racial dominance..."³ The Malawi model of education combined factors aimed at exploitative production as well as a literacy necessary for Bible-reading just enough for the creation of a docile society amenable to the demands of colonial survival. But Africans needed more education for their own survival too, as Margaret Read has noted.⁴ These conflicting demands form the essence of this chapter which seeks to examine the general development of colonial formal primary school education policies, and demonstrate the nature of the system which largely served as an agent of the underdevelopment of Malawi.

By 1945 primary education had operated in Malawi for 70 years. Designed by missionaries mainly to serve as a tool of evangelism, an important feature of this education was the variation of the system reflecting each Mission's background and theological convictions which often delayed progress. By the close of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, between eight and ten Missions were in Malawi,⁵ functioning basically as individual entities although some occasional contacts existed, particularly among the Scottish Missions and the D.R.C.M.^(Dutch Reformed Church Mission), in matters of education and evangelistic strategies. Up to the 1900's when the Catholics entered the Malawi field, the country was virtually partitioned geographically and tribally among the two Scottish Missions in the north and south, and the D.R.C.M. in the centre with the U.M.C.A. working from its insular position on Likoma Island to the central and southern lakeshore areas of Nkhota Kota and Mangochi (former Fort Johnston). In sum, Livingstonia was identified with northern tribes like the Ngoni, Tumbuka, Tonga, Nkhonde, and others; Blantyre with the Yao, Mang'anja and Lomwe in the south, and the D.R.C.M. with the Chewa and the Maseko Ngoni in the centre. Thus the educational advance of each tribe served as a yardstick of each Mission's credibility of performance.

Even in the face of some doctrinal differences Protestant Missions often found occasions of accord against their major threat, the Catholics,⁶ whose "intrusion" dates from 1902.

Educationally, the Catholics, composed of nationals of varying educational,, political and cultural backgrounds threatened the ideal in a British Protectorate. However, if Catholics engendered confusion, the Protestants operated no more orderly system of much economic use except Livingstonia, Blantyre and the U.M.C.A. Besides, it was partly this situation which forced the Protectorate Government to develop a controlling interest in education beyond the meagre grant contribution of a total of £1000, inaugurated in 1907 and increased to £2000 in 1918, for all Missions. The establishment in 1926 of a Government Department of Education in response to international pressure was specifically aimed at instituting control and streamlining the confused Mission education. The major cause of such confusion lay mainly in the failure of some missions in their conception of the African. Clergymen who in fact introduced western education in Malawi were not necessarily educationalists despite their early efforts in classroom teaching. This gave rise to an intricate situation where knowledge of the local people's cultural dynamics and aspirations operated against theory and practise in education in relation to contact with western ideas.⁸

The early history of African education in Malawi can be equated to the history of Christian Missions:

The fact that anybody was moved to go and teach Africans at all was due to the religious movement, specially to the evangelical revival...(to) evangelize and civilize the Negro.

This inextricability of religion and education confused even some of the missionaries themselves as they laboured to define religion in and cum education.¹⁰ In 1938 Dougall spoke of every part of Africa with a possibility of producing "missionaries of another type of whom teaching is an enthusiasm fed by the flame of personal religion, an art and technique to be made as perfect as may be".¹¹ Religion had to regulate and dominate one's teaching pursuit.¹²

The belief at the time condemned any attempt by the school to instil individualism among the people it served. Missionary educators were at pains to ensure society's cohesion, a Christian community which

sees the school as an ally¹³ that would ensure its stability. Thus an education likely to encourage the individual's independence of mind ran counter to the ideal. Only Mission schools as auxiliaries of the Church could exercise a "more intimate contact with the people than is possible in the majority of Government schools".¹⁴ The main source of this apparent dichotomy between Missions and Government was the latter's latitude in its conception of a functional educational system, although it would be wrong to exaggerate the breadth of such disagreement because, in the main, no major differences between them existed. The first consideration in missionary education was religion followed by the acquisition of some "useful" skills.

The general fervour rated mass education as the most suitable education for Africans whose needs were seen as rarely going beyond semi-literacy for effective service mainly in evangelistic work amid "Bible-loving, industrious and prosperous peasantry".¹⁵

One of the perennial complications in the conception of African education was sometimes "not so much...with the native society itself but with the attitude of the 'superior race'".¹⁶ Malinowski's analysis of the South African educational system, where the white minority was unprepared to accord to the African, however educated and intelligent, the appropriate place for his training, could safely be generalized for Malawi as well. Many educationists in fact resisted giving the African a sound education for fear of losing white privileges.¹⁷ Thus, devising a suitable education for Africans had to recognize the need to maintain white supremacy and hegemony. Not even the territorial Government introduced any sufficiently radical changes to missionary conservatism despite the declared official intention of colonial people's upliftment within the spirit of the "dual mandate".¹⁸ Even the Colonial Office policy statements generally seemed settled on low level education, a sentiment echoed in the colonies themselves. Implementation of these policy statements clearly meant retardation of African education which was confined mainly to primary levels.²⁰ Perhaps the statement of the Director of Education in Malawi puts the story more candidly regarding the appropriate type of education. "The scheme of education in this country must aim at producing good, contented and loyal citizens".²¹ Some missionaries admitted their

failure to uphold the "right" standard as they occasionally delved into some elitist training.

They (missionaries) didn't know their job. They were too much in a hurry. They had to get on and feel that they were doing something constructive and only now do I realize that kind of understanding. Where we failed was to take on a job (educational) which we didn't know how to do. On the other hand if we hadn't taken on the work...it would never have been started ... Somebody had to dive in and make mistakes.²²

Early education in Malawi, extremely narrow in its scope, failed to meet most of the useful aspects of socio-economic change. Formal education, as Murphree has indicated, must serve functions which ought to include enlightenment, knowledge-dissemination, training for leadership, skill impartation and education as an investment.²³ Education ought to serve as a "bridge leading to modernisation".²⁴ But education for leadership or elitism, constituted a threatening departure from the ideal colonial situation in Malawi as it would eventually give rise to African political and bureaucratic leadership likely to displace the old colonial order; in effect this would lead to inevitable loss of the predominant socio-economic standing of Europeans.²⁵ Formal western education was therefore not expected to operate a fully liberating influence on the African societies but generally as a tool for the African underdevelopment. As J.H. Oldham, the Secretary of the International Missionary Society Council once proposed, "education in Africa should mean agriculture",²⁶ in line with the stipulations of the Phelps-Stokes Reports which, until the Jeffrey and Binns Reports of 1951, "were quite the most comprehensive and specific documents on African education".²⁷ The type of education recommended was that which promoted a measure of egalitarianism which after raising the standard of character and efficiency should "narrow the hiatus between the educated class and the rest of the community whether chiefs or peasantry",²⁸ totally rejecting the creation of an elitist class to avoid disrupting society. But this narrowing of the gap did not apply between Europeans and Africans. This led critics of colonial education to suspect the approach as a manipulative instrument for the preservation of racial dominance.²⁹

African reactions to this situation were quite plainly of dissatisfaction. For example in his 'Notes for the Finance Commission,

Sir Robert Bell (1938) : Some sidelights on Possibilities of Further Development in Nyasaland', Levi Zililo Mumba described the prevailing position of Africans in no uncertain terms:

...the training which the African has received hitherto both in schools and through contact with whitemen either as semi-skilled or unskilled workers has been aimed at fitting him as a worker for, instead of a worker with, the whiteman...³⁰

It was Mumba's cry to see political economy taught together with proper "agricultural instruction which is higher than what we get at present" or work "against odds and it would be difficult for them (future generations) as it is for us to understand new methods".³¹ Mumba's is an apt summary of the general impact of primary education prior to the War, a situation that never changed dramatically even after the War when post-primary education became operational.

Trends in Post-War Primary Education - Characteristics

One of the effects of the War upon Nyasaland has been to give additional emphasis to the urgent necessity for carrying out the reform of primary education...

Apart from the supply of suitable candidates for admission to the secondary schools, the upper primary classes are being called upon to provide educated Africans in increasing numbers for the various branches of the Armed Forces, the Native Civil Service, and vocational schools and for schools undertaken by technical departments...³²

By the beginning of the Second World War the dominant feature of primary education in Malawi continued to be the village or "bush" schools followed by the central and station schools, all run by Missions. In the village school, the Mission enjoyed independence of deciding what to teach, and yet it perhaps stands out as the most retrogressive system in which the teachers were hardly qualified for their job. Missions used the unaided village or "bush" schools mainly as propaganda centres to serve the missionary scramble in which the largest number of schools boosted a Mission's status and prestige regardless of the quality of instruction. Missions seemed happy to forgo Government grants-in-aid by operating these village schools in the remotest areas, sometimes even too far for any regular missionary inspection.

The village school³³ espoused by almost all Missions represented

the embodiment of the Phelps-Stokes Commission recommendation for an education relevant to the local tribal set-up. This approach avoided Europeanisation of the African whose social change had to be strictly controlled. Yet an African clearly needed change, and that change to be wrought by western influences, as Lugard believed,³⁴ for which, however, the village school was probably the most inefficient and ineffective agent.

For Missions committed to semi-literacy, such as the Dutch Reformed Church was, the village school operated as the hub of "rural development", as Louw suggested.³⁵ The village school touched the centre of the D.R.C.M. policy of horizontal educational expansion with an emphasis on reading, writing, religion and elements of agriculture and health education. As one former D.R.C. Missionary commented:

The (D.R.C.) Mission... made its greatest contribution at the village level... at the heart of the story of the D.R.C.M. lies its aim: (the production of) a Bible-loving, industrious and prosperous peasantry.³⁶

The village school philosophy was not totally unattractive to Government, mainly for two reasons. Since most such schools never qualified for grants-in-aid Government was satisfied to leave their funding to Missions, despite the resultant confusion. Besides, it seemed that the Government opinion of village schools was deliberately bent on **retarding** educational progress. The Director of Education spelt out Government's stand in the following words:

Our present system of educating the African boy rests upon the broad foundation of the village school. We must therefore continue to consider the village school as the most important part of our education policy, and whatever changes we may make in our system for the purpose of efficiency and economy we must not subordinate the village school to any other education activity.³⁷

What obtains, therefore, is a situation of extreme shortsightedness in terms of an education for the economic development of the Africans and the country. This disastrous education claimed total enrolment in such schools as representing over 12 per cent of the total African population and about 66 per cent of children aged 5-15 years.³⁸

One of the potent dilatory methods in African education, besides the quality, was the lengthy eleven-year duration of the

primary course which caused loss of stamina in most children after only two years of schooling.³⁹ A pupil spent four years in the village school, four in the central school and three in the station school up to Standard Six, the highest primary class until the early 1940's. And only those village schools inspected and grant-assisted by Government had to have a certified teacher in charge of a vernacular course of study in the 3 R's, hygiene, history, geography, nature study and handiwork, with religious instruction dominating the timetable. It is the ungraded bush school which proliferated to the majority of the Malawian youth, most of such schools operating mainly as catechumenical centres.

In a typical village school the day was opened with the singing of a hymn and prayer. Then for half an hour they were all busy with a Bible lesson and thereafter they were taught a verse from a hymn or from the Bible. The pupils were then grouped in their different classes and for the next hour and a half they received tuition in reading, writing and arithmetic. After that they got together again whereby the register was read and, after the singing of another hymn, the school was closed with a prayer. A school day lasted approximately for two hours.⁴⁰

The D.R.C.M. believed that in this way "a lot of attention was given to education of the child in such a way as to finally reach the whole nation. Using a lot of discretion it was always endeavoured to teach the correct values in life, that is to persuade the aborigine that material well-being was secondary to correct spiritual development of the personality"⁴¹ which avoided exaggerated individualism.⁴²

Of all the African grievances about the educational system, the absence of English in the village schools featured most prominently. To Africans the English language represented a breakthrough and gateway to the mysterious world of the whiteman. The position was aptly described by Freda Gwilliam and Margaret Read who visited Malawi as Commissioners in 1947:

There is a universal desire to learn English, both among men and women, girls and boys. It is considered the chief element in, and motive for, school education... A further important reason for learning English, in addition to economic advantages, is that Africans feel they can have no direct contact with Europeans and with European thought unless they know English.⁴³

This for a long time characterized the demands of not only the Native Associations but also the Nyasaland African Congress as they urged Government to completely take over education from Mission hands, hoping for the enhancement of English language teaching in African schools, even in the bush school. But Government policy was to entrust all primary education to Missions⁴⁴ although it was not unaware of this demand.⁴⁵

Apart from all this, it was only at the central and station schools that Europeans taught, although some of these proved poor teachers.⁴⁶ Many Malawians saw no hope in 4-year village schooling which lacked English. Those Malawians persevering to central and station schools were very few; and so long as the village school continued to occupy such a central place in the educational system, improvement and advancement of African education was not easy to envisage. The village school was of course conveniently near the home and facilitated attendance by even young children without the hazard of walking long distances and occasional kidnapping. Besides, the fees were manageably low, about 3d for Class One until 1940.

In 1940 the Livingstonia Mission raised fees in the low classes in a move designed to reduce the number of unqualified teachers by up to 19% to effect efficiency through salary increases which would help to build the morale of better qualified teachers.⁴⁷ By 1944 Livingstonia increased its ^{annual} fees again⁴⁸ from the 1940 levels:

<u>1944</u>			
Standard 1	5/-	Class A	1/-
Standard 2	6/-	Class B	1/8d
Standard 3	7/-	Class C	2/4d
Standard 4	8/-		

These fee increases were probably justified, but no consideration was given to possible damage to attendance. The problem this time was the absence of uniform fees as each Mission set its own levels independently. In fact the same Mission could have under it, two schools charging different fees.

The War and Its Aftermath in Relation to Primary Education

Although no major strides in primary education took place during the War some activity continued both in Malawi and in the Colonial

Office.⁴⁹ Notwithstanding the devastation of the War, ideas from London included reforming the primary system in Malawi while in another Memorandum, the Protectorate Government suggested "speeding of the development of selected schools, including such overdue reforms as the adequate payment of African teachers and supervisors, the supply of more and better school equipment, the lowering of rates of fees, improvements to boarding school diets and the development of practical subjects in school courses",⁵⁰ all to require increased financial allocations hitherto unobtainable locally.

Then there was the inauguration in 1941 of Government control, in conjunction with Missions, of the Standard Six examination, the last class prior to secondary education. This important step, necessitated by the opening of Blantyre Secondary School in 1940, was one way of getting rid of the diversified mission examinations which made the selection criteria for secondary education extremely difficult to determine. This step in effect led to the devising of a common syllabus for all Standard Six classes. Not all Missions felt happy about these developments. In fact by 1944 the D.R.C.M., explaining their poor performance in the Standard Six classes, attributed the high failure rate to "African conceitedness once they reached that class..."⁵¹

In general, the War years experienced a large numerical reduction of pupils, a decrease of 26,830 (18%) in unassisted and 3,432 (over 5%) in aided schools. The war demands of personnel led to the release into service of over 714 or 23% of African teachers from village schools; European male teacher numbers fell from 64 to 56.⁵² Government saw this tragic trend as loss in quantity but gain in quality.⁵³ Besides, the introduction in fees of 1d in, for example, D.R.C.M. village schools hitherto attended free, contributed to pupil losses as Malawians, for a long time, considered education beneficial essentially to Europeans rather than to Africans; hence the expected payment in return for pupil attendance at school where they also engaged in rigorous school manual work like gardening.

Perhaps one of the encouraging signs of the War years, besides the arrival in Malawi of a progressive Governor, Sir Edmund Richards, to replace Sir Donald Mackenzie-Kennedy, was the unprecedented emphasis given by missions to boarding primary schools⁵⁴ which even Christopher Cox, the Educational Advisor to the Secretary of State, on a visit to Malawi in 1943 and whose views were important in the formulation of the Post-War Development Plan around this time, saw as a venture warranting great attention in the development of African education.⁵⁵

Boarding schools formed a very important feature of African education and any promotion of the system was to be encouraged. The method was favoured by both missionaries and Africans for different reasons. While Africans cherished the boarding school as that institution imparting the much needed 'good' education under quite capable standards, missionaries conceived it as the institution going beyond the academic sphere into the social and religious realms.

The boarding school in Africa was supposed to have a "rehabilitating and domesticating" effect within a Christian environment which promoted an atmosphere conducive to learning. Besides,

The boarding school in Africa is an attempt to provide for the African that general world of ideas in which the English child lives by the mere fact of being in a country where literature, the newspapers and ordinary conversation assumes such ideas.⁵⁶

All in all, the boarding school was a prestigious institution much sought after by Malawians; and both the Colonial and Protectorate Governments sounded keen to encourage this and other forms of education in the post-War period when more rigorous control of the educational system by Government, short only of complete takeover of education, was planned.

From the beginning of the Second World War colonial Government concern focussed on ways of rewarding African loyalty in the defence forces of the Empire, a trend launched after the First World War which however failed to yield much for Africans. While demobilized white soldiers got the option of free settlement farmland in the colonies, Africans returned to their home countries. In their own way Africans pressed not for farmland but better education which the Colonial Office viewed as a deserved handshake to loyal colonial subjects. The end of the War ushered in divergent ideas concerning

the upliftment of Africans among some of whom radicalism surfaced as the effect of the War experiences which brought them face to face with development in Africa and elsewhere. The theme of Pan-Africanism championed by people of African descent in Britain like George Padmore (a West Indian national) Jomo Kenyatta, Kwame Nkrumah, H. Kamuzu Banda became a keyword in colonial relations, and the Pan-African Manchester Conference of 1945⁵⁷ gave vent to important ideas, with the Colonial Office as the target ear.

In Malawi the birth of the Nyasaland African Congress in 1944 added significance to the African voice in the Advisory Committee on Education as it demanded more and better education. The appointment of Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda, a Malawian medical doctor resident in London, as the official Congress representative in Britain gave the organisation a useful position for pressing the Colonial Office for educational changes from closer range. Also the choice of Dr. Banda with a broad and well-informed political mind served as an asset. Contending against Margaret Wrong's⁵⁸ assertion in praise of the village school, Dr. Banda spoke of a retrogressive system of education in Malawi which under-emphasised English but tenaciously maintaining the undesirable Vernacular Teachers Certificate whose abolition Congress called for.⁵⁹ On the local scene Congress continued to press Government to take full administrative and financial control of schools.⁶⁰ Against this background both the Colonial Office and Protectorate Government decided to demonstrate tangible concern, notwithstanding the general financial stringencies after the War.⁶¹

Despite the wartime reverses, three landmarks during the period deserve mention, viz: the launching in London of the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, the publication in Malawi of the Post-War Development Plan, and the passing of a new Education Ordinance in Malawi accompanied by Rules and Regulations. In the Development Plan education received the deserved emphasis as the centre of all development.

A measure of departure was now necessary from the avowed policy of "encouraging Mission and private enterprise" to run education.⁶² However, this did not go far enough, for reasons of finance, to

ensure significant reduction of educational financing by Mission organisations.

The Report of the Post-War Development Committee⁶³ represented probably the most significant local effort of the time in matters pertaining to education. It worked from useful figures.⁶⁴ Introducing primary education the Report made several recommendations which included the need to encourage female education with matching recognition of the value of the work of trained African women enshrined in the principle of 'equal pay for equal work'. Other interesting recommendations stressed the introduction of English in African primary schools at a much earlier stage, in the third year, with simple oral English starting even earlier, in an attempt to satisfy African demands.⁶⁵ The D.R.C.M. seemed the target of this recommendation with their conviction against the teaching of English in wholesale fashion at primary levels. It was the D.R.C.M. that stopped the teaching of English at Chilanga Mission in Kasungu when they took over the station from Livingstonia Mission at the turn of the century, a source of deep African grievance and resentment in Kasungu.⁶⁶ As already shown, Malawians believed, and correctly so, in the strength of English as the centre of their education and hence Dr. Banda's praise for Livingstonia.⁶⁷

Of all the Committee's recommendations, that proposing the abolition of fees and, therefore, instituting free primary education stood perhaps as the most revolutionary as far as those funding education were concerned. In a country with low level economic activity among the masses whose sales of their cash crops like maize, groundnuts and tobacco, never fetched much money at the Native Tobacco Board and Maize Control Board, school fees were a burden.⁶⁸ The situation was made worse by the absence of properly trained agricultural extension staff to assist the local farmer whose maize production rate was sometimes as low as two bags an acre to keep his family alive for a whole year. Those selling some got only as low as $\frac{1}{2}$ penny per pound. The labour intensive tobacco growing fetched no better prices. Pupils failing to pay school fees, even as low as one shilling per annum could not be allowed to continue. Some schools, by Standard One, charged "the amount of Government annual poll tax on adult males"⁶⁹ excluding the pupils' burden of buying their own books and stationery.

The Report advocated a uniform fee for the whole primary course if abolition of fees was not possible. Envisaged by the Committee was the realisation of "free but compulsory, universal education (to) be the ultimate aim for primary courses".⁷⁰ The idea of compulsory education was not new among Africans and its differences with mass education were not unclear to them. Mass education, as Livingstonia Mission argued, although given a bold accent by other Missions like Nkhoma (D.R.C.M.) "can only be seriously begun when there is a nucleus of well educated African leaders",⁷¹ whom Malawi did not have.

The idea of compulsory education first came as a request from a meeting of Native (Traditional) Authorities and teachers in 1934 in the Northern Region.⁷² That compulsory education should have been pioneered within the Livingstonia Mission sphere comes as no surprise, considering Livingstonia's long association with traditional influence among the chiefs. Government initially had to answer questions of control of education and teachers (Native Authority, District School Committee or the Mission), exemption of pupils from religious instruction which would be a new feature, age limit of compulsion, financing and whether fees were to be insisted upon, and the responsibility of fees collection.⁷³ The experiment launched in the August-to-October, 1935 session primarily affected five villages under Chikuramayembe where the Mission retained control of the schools. From the Government side a guarantee of £50 per annum, if necessary, was earmarked for salaries of increased staffs in the experiment.

An interesting aspect of compulsory education was parents' willingness and sacrifice to pay the fees,⁷⁴ not the lowest, and also to purchase the necessary books and stationery. The estimated attendance percentage of over sixty children of between ages of nine and fifteen demonstrated the effectiveness of the system.⁷⁵ That the scheme won the admiration of Malawians in other areas is attested to by the request from the Tonga chiefs for information about this experiment whose pupils doubled by 1938.⁷⁶

Government declared unequivocal support and sympathy for compulsory education, at least for sometime, in response to any suggestion for it.⁷⁷ The problem with compulsory education in its suggested form was the link with abolition of fees. Free and compulsory education

sounded a plausible idea to Malawians, but the funding of such education posed a frightening prospect to most educators. However, the fact that the Post-War Development Report recommended free and compulsory universal education in itself represented an interesting development in policy formulation. That type of education was in fact the precursor of Native Authority or Local Educational Authority School to be discussed later.

The First Five Year Plan

The main ideas concerning educational development were embodied in the Five Year Plan which the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, based in London, accepted almost in toto. The Plan aimed to make the primary school as efficient as possible and speed up the school course to effect the attainment of Standard Six at an early age.⁷⁸ However, while the Plan projected more effective control of aided schools, the establishment of Government primary schools never featured as a priority; and unaided village schools were still on the increase. This multiplication of village schools in itself meant a problem of control of standards as Missions continued to operate such schools independently mostly as propaganda centres. But in African education the Plan touched on a number of important areas including qualifications, "appointments, reappointments, transfers, resignations, suspensions and dismissals of teachers",⁷⁹ qualifications of European teachers, African teachers salaries, length of the school year, a new schedule of fees,⁸⁰ District School Committees, financing (grants) and other relevant matters.⁸¹ The Plan was accorded its legal standing through the Education Bill passed by the Legislative Council in 1945⁸² to become an Education Ordinance.⁸³

The Secretary of State supported the Plan with a grant of £37,476 in 1945 from the Colonial Development and Welfare vote to bring total Government expenditure on education to £79,826 in that year, £70,224 on African education alone.⁸⁴ Even more promising was Government's declared intention to direct education "towards upward rather than outward growth and the existing schools should be worked up to take their place in a sound public system, involving larger grants and more comprehensive conditions".⁸⁵ Central schools, described as the key point, were to increase from the present 200 to 266 by the fifth year of the

Plan. The objective was to upgrade some of the village schools to the status of central schools while the existing ten girls boarding schools were to be strengthened. But a major weakness in the Education Bill was the proposed control which failed to go far enough. For example, although Government was to exercise control over the schools and the teachers in them, these would remain "the Mission teachers working under Mission school managers and obeying any Mission rules they accept on engagement".⁸⁶

Reactions to the Ordinance were mixed. While Missions disapproved of the measures designed to curb the explosion of village schools with a matched reduction of unqualified teachers, Malawians felt the greatest deficiency in the Bill was Government's failure to take over all education.⁸⁷ In an impassioned^{ed} plea to Government on the matter the newly formed Nyasaland African Congress suggested total Government control of education.⁸⁸ On its part Congress in fact launched a fund-raising campaign to send a delegation to London to present to the Secretary of State these views against "dual control" of education.⁸⁹ Right from its formation in 1944 Congress, interested in a progressive African education, represented for Missions, a discomforting critic. While appreciating the British Government allocation of £345,000 towards the Five Year Plan for education, Congress strongly criticised the vernacular grade (teachers) as a grade designed "to hamper our education"⁹¹ Besides, use of the teachers as evangelists was deprecated as being partly responsible for their slipshod work because of lack of enough time for lesson preparation leading to poor performance. Congress considered it an unfair practise of dismissing teachers for refusal to preach.

Malawians further saw the 1945 Education Ordinance as rather discriminatory particularly concerning misconduct of African teachers whose 'sin' was judged against the standards of an evangelist,⁹² something absent in non-African Schools. This strengthened among Malawians the idea of Native Authority schools as an alternative to Mission education in the absence of exclusively Government controlled education. On its part Government was satisfied with a smooth first year of the Education Plan and delighted itself in the results of the Standard Six primary leaving examinations of 1946 in which, out of a school population of 214,344, only 286 candidates entered for the examination and only 199 were successful including three girls.⁹³

It was against this background that primary education had to be appraised. Realities in the face of such a vast African population yearning for education and, therefore, expansion of funding in the next several years proved just the unreality of the Government's declared conviction about the country's financial position as being sound,⁹⁴ considering its already demonstrated failure to provide adequate educational facilities for the thousands of illiterate Malawian children. European educational interests of course represented a different matter, and the so-called sound economy related mainly to these.⁹⁵ In fact in 1948 the Post-War Development Committee's ambitious original Report was revised to effect reductions in recurrent expenditures⁹⁶ which affected education as well.

The Age of Commissions

The two major pre-1951 extra-territorial developments in educational policy and practice after the 1945 Ordinance included the Freda Gwilliam/Margaret Read Commission on the education of women and girls⁹⁷ and the Church of Scotland Foreign Missions Committee's Commission (led by Dr. J.W.C. Dougall)⁹⁸ which visited the country to study educational problems, both in 1947. Their coming at all simply confirmed the existence of enormous problems in African education in Malawi. Although the Gwilliam/Read Commission's main pre-occupation was female education its findings extended to various aspects of education, and the need for revitalizing the system by introducing more positive elements became glaringly clear. The two Reports provoked a soul-searching exercise among policy makers both in Malawi and in London. As the Dougall Report opened its remarks

Even a brief study of education in Nyasaland is certain to result in a sense of disappointment at the stage of progress reached after such a promising start as was made in Nyasaland's earlier history.⁹⁹

The failures in colonial education were reiterated by Gwilliam/Read report¹⁰⁰ which highlighted the inevitable effect of War experiences in enhancing the demand for more and better education for both African boys and girls. The reports delineated the difficult problems and, in a way, some conservatism of the first Five Year Educational Plan to rectify the existing unattractive situation.

One of the major weaknesses of the Protectorate Government was its failure to depict a more realistic picture of the economy which, in a spate of propoganda, continued to be described as healthy.¹⁰¹

The Government built high hopes on the C.D. and W. Fund as lack of sufficient local revenue proved a "crippling handicap",¹⁰² Government made little, if any, effort to explain to the people of Malawi the clear insufficiency of Central Government funds to wholly finance the educational improvements in the present situation, and explore ways of encouraging local initiative and effort. The fear of the inability of C.D. and W.F. to meet its promised financial obligations to colonies, including Malawi, increased "as the economy of Britain and its colonies has been adjusted to the post-war situation in internal trade".¹⁰³

Among the many factors against fast development in education the Dougall Report included lack of sufficient station schools offering classes up to Standard Six; incentives to attract girls to school where the delayed promotion in the school classes only made worse the situation already blighted by late age entry in school. In 1947 Standard Six enrolment seemed to be less than 1 in 100 of the appropriate age group. Teachers, too, in short supply, deserved better conditions of service.

By 1947 the Government side, too, could not keep silent about its own failures. In an address at the first meeting of the Planning Committee of the Advisory Committee on African Education¹⁰⁴ on 23rd October 1947 with Miss Freda Gwilliam, Assistant Education Advisor to the Secretary of State, in attendance, the Acting Director of Education, (Rev. A.G. Fraser) singled out one outstanding failure up to date as the absence of a ladder for Africans to reach the higher rungs of education within the country. But higher levels of education had to contend against the need for increased teachers' salaries to match those of civil servants of comparable academic qualifications at a time of financial stringency. In any case the quality of primary education needed improving through proper supervision which was extremely weak. One useful recommendation hinged on financial provision.¹⁰⁵ Suggested ways of local participation in financing the improvement of education included a local rate levy in line with the United Kingdom policy of pushing the running of primary education into local authorities, a topic for more detailed discussion

later. The Report advocated fast training of Malawians for Station School responsibilities, which was for a long time the demand from Africans. Such Africans should get a year's special training with a minimum academic qualification of Standard Eight (Junior Secondary Certificate). Besides local training, both the Dougall and Gwilliam/Read Reports emphasized the need to send promising teachers to the Institute of Education, London University, for appropriate courses to equip them for the assumption of supervisory and administrative duties in education hitherto a European monopoly.

In point of fact the primary system had a more complex problem which makes most of the points above mere symptoms of the major ailment.

...primary education is grinding round in a vicious circle of poorly equipped teachers running dull schools which turn out a further supply of the same sort of teachers.¹⁰⁶

It was this reasoning which strengthened the idea of establishing in 1949 a Government Teacher Training College to mount the desired efficient training at the Domasi Jeanes Training Centre up to Higher Grade suggested by the Dougall Report. Fraser's awareness regarding the lengthy time scale for the vicious circle to be broken, was clear. However, a Government T.T.C. at Domasi would not be enough for the improvement of the system so long as the religious aspect continued to influence enrolment to the detriment of standards at the 18 denominational institutes supplying the majority of the teachers without adequate Government supervision and inspection.¹⁰⁷

Government introduced in 1945 the new syllabus for English Grade Examinations first held in 1947, but the numbers of candidates involved were so small with no women at all,¹⁰⁸ these being confined to the Domestic Grade. The continued existence of the Vernacular and Domestic grades did not help matters despite Nyasaland African Congress denunciation of these grades.¹⁰⁹ So long as such grades remained in use then any suggestion of education for leadership recommended by the Gwilliam/Read Commission represented empty talk although Britain's declared policy towards colonial education ranked this social service at the centre in pursuit of the development of African leadership¹¹⁰ for important roles in the education system. Educators needed to come to terms with the concept of a Protectorate Government which would eventually pass into African hands equipped with proper skills to

handle the transfer of responsibilities. The Colonial Office increasingly saw any rise of an educated African class as economically advantageous¹¹¹ although even the Secretary of State could only talk of replacement of Europeans in junior posts in Malawi.

One of the ideas in vogue in the late 1940's was the development of Native Authority or Local Educational Authority Schools occasionally linked with compulsory education which was often demanded by chiefs. The development of Native Authority primary schools dealt with later, should be considered advancement of local interest and participation in education as compulsory education eventually lost the support of Government and some Missions, mainly on economic grounds especially with the arrival of the new Governor, Geoffrey Colby. In the development of colonial services the quality of a Governor always mattered. In the field of education, planners of the post-War period derived much support from Governor Edmund C. Richards (8/8/42 - 27/3/47) with R.H.W. Wisdom as his indomitable and progressive Director of Education. Under these two men, every encouragement was given to local educational initiatives including the compulsory education experiment. The arrival of Colby (30/3/48 - 31/5/51)¹¹² significantly affected policies from the end of the First Five Year Educational Plan to the first two years of the Second Plan (1950 - 1954). Colby outlined his policy on primary education at the meeting of the Advisory Committee on Education, supporting the crucial issue of age limits¹¹³ which was vehemently opposed by Malawians as it adversely affected especially girls who often entered school already advanced in age.¹¹⁴ Colby opposed the chiefs' demand for compulsory education as premature¹¹⁵ while realising "how vital this question (of education) is to the whole future of Nyasaland" and pledging himself "to do everything within my power to support your efforts."¹¹⁶ The Director of Education, the extremely dynamic D.S. Miller, was brought to support this stance by favouring compulsion of attendance rather than compulsory education,¹¹⁷ while placating anxious Africans by leaving open the prospect of Government "ultimate aim of universal compulsory education"¹¹⁸ at a time of increasing interest among chiefs to establish schools.¹¹⁹ As a half measure even the acquiescent African Provincial Council in the Centre urged Government to implement the officially supported compulsory attendance for enrolled pupils whose absenteeism should be punishable. But even this suggestion by Government was intended only for selected

chiefs like Malemia of Zomba, and this caused agitation among the disgruntled Malawians.

The Second Five Year Education Plan, 1950 - 1954.

The Second Five Year Education Plan¹²¹ became operational in 1950 in the absence of any real spectacular achievements of the First Plan. In fact the second Plan was launched as anxiety for African educational progress increased in the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies.

The Plan, mainly the work of the Protectorate Planning Committee, was thoroughly discussed by the London-based Africa Sub-Committee of the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies. To demonstrate its concern the Sub-Committee not only met twelve times¹²² but also invited to London the Nyasaland Director of Education, Miller, for personal representations on the spot to ensure some exhaustive consideration of the various educational problems and their proposed remedies. The most interesting point to emerge from the Sub-Committee of the A.C.E.C. was the suggestion that "a satisfactory policy for education in Nyasaland can only be achieved if it is interlocked with wider plans for the social and economic development of the territory."¹²³ D.S. Miller's proposals to the Sub-Committee included a thorough survey of all primary schools, aided and unaided, immediate imposition of age limit in 1949,¹²⁴ all aided schools to offer classes up to Standard Three with a large increase of station or intermediate schools offering Standard Six from 11 to 50 in the next five years. Besides, the idea of African staff teaching up to Standard Six had to be encouraged even if this resulted in a slight lowering of standards. Active junior European staff had to replace those, on average, "too old and had somewhat become complacent and lethargic."¹²⁵ Miller believed that 'wastage' would be reduced proportionately with the disappearance of the sub-standard course.

From the various comments and proposals the second Education Plan was said to have been designed to achieve a general all-round increase in efficiency in education, through the best use of certificated teachers planned for training in large numbers at increased salaries payable even during school vacations! Government's direct running of education

was to be confined to secondary and teacher training levels.¹²⁶

The Binns Commission

The Binns Commission, a feature within the Second Education Plan, seems to have represented the most serious post-War concern for colonial education. One weakness of the Colonial Office was its solid belief that only British officials possessed the capability to diagnose the colonial educational ills, although, to some of such officials, the African experience was unknown. However, what is significant is the concern of Colonial Office to assess the colonial educational needs. The Colonial Office always harboured an unexpressed suspicion concerning Mission education for fear of, firstly, the clear chauvinism of European Christian supremacy and, secondly, the uneasy missionary association with the Protectorate administration.¹²⁷ The Binns Commission, jointly sponsored by the Colonial Office and the Nuffield Foundation, and a counterpart of the Jeffrey's Commission which visited West Africa simultaneously, created ^a sensation in Malawi among all sections concerned with African education. For one thing it signified a need for a more concerted colonial educational policy; for another it underlined the ineffectiveness of the local effort in answering an urgent educational need at a time of changing political fortunes in the colonial world. In Central Africa the idea of a Central Africa Federation, given currency in 1949 at the Victoria Falls Conference where the African voice of protest never gained any consideration, was quickly becoming a reality with the proposed London Conference by the Colonial Secretary, Oliver Lyttleton, scheduled for 1951. The Federation policy would bring together the more advanced Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and the least developed Malawi. This partly explains the Colonial Office policy to study and try to sort out education problems in an attempt to bring Malawi and Zambia on some useful educational footing that would benefit from Federal funds. Some Missions were going through financial problems which affected their performance in education. For example the Church of Scotland headquarters in Edinburgh adopted a policy against the opening "of new schools which will be a charge of Foreign Missions Committee unless you can effect a saving to balance in some other

direction."¹²⁸ Then there was the famine catastrophe of 1949/50 in Malawi which, in its own way, dealt a severe blow to Government development plans, in order to handle the emergency situation; education suffered a measure of neglect. In fact a number of schools closed for lack of food and pupils^{were} sent home for some time. It seemed, therefore, that the Binns Commission¹²⁹ came to Malawi at a period of some confusion and uncertainty in education. Besides, it demonstrated the ineffectiveness of the 1947 Commission; although this dealt mostly with female education its observations and recommendations went beyond the realm of women. Also, even if only peripherally, ideas raised at the International Regional Education Conference held at Nairobi 14-16th August 1951 had some impact on the direction of the Commission.¹³⁰ The Binns Study¹³¹ was said to have originated from two major criticisms, firstly that education was still too insufficient, giving only too few children the chance of schooling with only a small percentage of the lucky few proceeding to attain an educational standard that would be of real use to them; secondly that "education was effective in breaking up the old African life, but not in adapting its pupils to the conditions of the new."¹³² Most of such complaints came from Africans who would now have the opportunity to voice their grievances to a Colonial Office Commission on education. The Nyasaland African Congress was particularly disgruntled because its deputation's visit to London in 1948 where it discussed African education with the Secretary of State never led to any spectacular results in educational reform. Congress welcomed the opportunity to discuss African education with the Commission at the invitation of the Director of Education.¹³³ Even the Nyasaland National Teachers Association showed enthusiasm to deliberate with the Commission.¹³⁴

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the various African representations was the absence of any radical educational demands. In fact the demands in the memorandum from the Teachers' Association bore the mark of a replay of the missionary tune, emphasizing the need for an "education to enable them to read the Scriptures."¹³⁵ While suggesting a greater measure of African participation in educational planning, the Association was unequivocal in advocating that

"Missions should continue to run schools."¹³⁶ But this conservatism must be understood against the background of a colonial situation with great missionary influence. In any case, all teachers were employees of Missions which exercised considerable prerogative of dispensing with any teachers lacking compliance. In fact some Missions, like the Seventh Day Adventist,¹³⁷ never allowed their teachers to join the Association they wrongly considered the seed-bed for opposition to missionary dominance.

The problems identified by the Commission were not new, and seemed to suggest the impossibility of their solutions. For example, the Commission discussed wastage in education, denominational rivalry, rural regeneration, unemployment, effects of examinations, the medium of instruction, promotion and consolidation of functional literacy, female education, improvement of the quality of teachers, organisation and control of education, and problems of financing.¹³⁸ The recommendations for the improvement of education were many and fairly down-to-earth. One of the important observations, though, was African willingness and anxiety to contribute towards and pay for education, hence the recommendation for Government to encourage efficient private schools. The weakness of the suggestion was its failure to allude anywhere to African-sponsored private schools along the lines of the African Methodist Church School in Kasungu or those of the Kikuyu Development Association (Harambe Schools). The point about private schools was to try and get education away from the grip of Missions and the evangelistic bent, even as late as 1950, so that although a strong suggestion was made in favour of an education for the elite,¹³⁹ its realisation clearly presented a millennial dream.

However, the Commission's favour of private schools seemed unrealistic in a poor country like Malawi. The partial answer to the problem therefore seemed to lie in Local Education Authority schools, an important phenomenon of the 1950's, which the attention of the Commission could not escape; such schools would develop an education reflecting the local needs and aspirations.

The Local Education Authority, formally established by 1952 was not a totally new concept. In fact as early as 1942 L.E.A.'s generally featured as an integral part of the colonial education.¹⁴⁰ The recognised need for decentralization or devolution of educational control was

to benefit by local financial contribution through statutory rates to supplement central colonial revenues; disbursement of such funds would become the responsibility of a wider representation. The District School Committees chaired by the District Commissioner, and with a membership that included a few Africans, transacted very little business of importance; and over the twelve months in 1939 "a very high proportion of the time of the Committees had been spent in considering applications for new schools".¹⁴¹ From 1945, however, the District School Committees tackled more important business which included expenditure of the Educational Fund, school attendance rules, and increases in fees. But these Committees were purely advisory in function, and eventually replaced by District Education Committees to assume not only advisory but also, gradually, financial and executive powers.¹⁴² In the Northern Region of Malawi this local participation occasionally took on a tribal character to ensure the promotion of tribal educational interests. But the Tribal Education Committees, distinct from the District School Committees, could only advise on the disbursement of the old Education Rate; and its recommendations could be rejected by a higher body, the District Council of Chiefs,¹⁴³ whose members sometimes lacked enough acquaintance with education. By 1950, Government paid much attention to "the development of District School Committees into Local Education Authorities under the title of District Education Committees with membership more representative than at present with both chiefs and commoners, as well as of Government and the voluntary agencies, and with powers clearly defined".¹⁴⁴

Theoretically Local Education authorities were to be constituted as a Committee of the Local Native or Traditional Authority. But most N.A.'s could not operate effectively in this important role, and this became an excuse for Government to inundate the membership with Government supporters under the chairmanship of the District Commissioner. The colonial Government was always uncertain of the African's capabilities and the L.E.A. was a test case in some kind of local self-help, although under official monitorship. However, unlike the situation in Uganda, no educational expenditure or responsibility was by 1943 undertaken by chiefs in Malawi. Although

local bodies were expected to raise funds by imposing rates in the 1940's this excluded any immediate possibility of entrusting them, as was the case in England, with the running of universal and compulsory education. Local Authorities in England were seen as a potential source of relief to education departments of much of their routine administrative and supervisory work while stimulating local enterprise. In Malawi, at district level, an independent inquiry in 1950 recommended the patterning of Local Government bodies on the English model¹⁴⁵ and the African Local Government Ordinance of 1952 led to the establishment of District Councils which assumed an important role in organizing education at local levels.

But not everyone in England shared the euphoric view about colonial L.E.A.'s. In fact even the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies questioned the advisability of the policy of placing primary education into L.E.A. hands, since it had proved unsatisfactory in England.¹⁴⁶ The Colonial Office spoke of the great financial problem in implementing the policy which was expected to benefit from the local levy of one shilling¹⁴⁷ from each tax paying male which only amounted to £20,000 in 1951.¹⁴⁸ However, although it was clear that locally generated funds were inadequate to fully run primary education the levy of a shilling per head for this purpose gave Malawians some pride as a contribution to their own education system. Malawians were in fact willing to pay a higher rate¹⁴⁹ for their education just as a demonstration of the insatiable need for this service, so long as Government handled its part in good faith.¹⁵⁰

The Government emphasized the need not just for cash to run the primary system but also "interest" and "competence".¹⁵¹ In its view the interest, evidently there, needed competence for effective administration. Doubts were expressed regarding "the extent to which Native Authorities are able to undertake increasing responsibility, both financial and otherwise, for certain parts of the educational system... Native Authority schools are largely managed by the Education Department owing to lack of competent Native Authority management".¹⁵² The devolution policy, therefore, was bedevilled by the absence of official confidence in African performance, and thus difficulties lay in the way of speeding up the implementation of the Binns recommendation for L.E.A. schools. Government seemed unhappy about this state of affairs when its own expenditure of 100% grants

of salaries of certified teachers in assisted schools was introduced in 1950. But Mission policy now generally favoured devolution of control of education; "mission education must come under indigenous church or local body with church, mission, government and local community representatives".¹⁵³ The Mission agents were encumbered with school administration to the detriment of church life. But here again, the negative crux of the matter centred on funding and administrative expertise. In fact devolution entailed some gain for Missions as Government would, as a deliberate policy, meet the additional cost of replacing poorly qualified teachers by those with better qualifications although it would be the duty of the Local Authority, either District Council, from 1953, or the Native Authority where a District Council did not exist,¹⁵⁴ to coordinate primary schools. Missions showed anxiety to implement the L.E.A. policy and by 1955 Livingstonia was handing over schools in Rumphi¹⁵⁵ to the District Council, so long as this was not construed as abdication of responsibility to leave a vacuum which might be filled up by the Roman Catholics. On its own side, Government insisted to L.E.A.'s on uniformity in the length of the primary course and maximum rates of tuition fees.¹⁵⁶ The Second Five Year Plan (1950-54) thus closed with the formal launching of the L.E.A. programme which was to form the broad basis for primary education in Malawi.

As the Acting Director of Education demonstrated in his assessment, the Second Five Year Plan period witnessed successes and failures in primary education.¹⁵⁷ The period of the Plan experienced a bad start. The projected target figures of increasing from 9 to 86 senior primary schools, 200 to 370 junior primary schools all involving the construction of 697 new classrooms and 751 new teachers' houses,¹⁵⁸ coincided with financial strain caused by a worst drought starting in 1949. The Central Government's ability to fulfil the Plan was thus severely curtailed. The realisation of most of the Plan was therefore due to African sacrifice in providing the 1/- tax levy, later raised to 5/3d, and a great deal of self-help to reduce building costs. Besides, while Government imposed a freeze on its contribution towards African primary education, teacher shortages continued. In 1951, 270 students gained teaching certificates as against 57 retired and in 1952, 248 teachers certificates were issued against 50 retirements. The rate of

increase was not nearly fast enough to fulfil the Five Year Plan. One major improvement during this period was the abolition of the much hated Vernacular Grade to leave only English and Higher Grades; but this meant a slight raise of fees to partly meet the shortfalls. It was against this setting that people like Fraser cherished the false hope for Federal funds for the expansion of African education. However, perhaps the most encouraging development of this period was the increasing African participation in running their primary education. By 1954 more than five African inspectors were in post. It was during this period that upward growth, a long-time African demand, took roots with the emphasis on the development of village schools into junior primary schools to qualify for assistance. This of course represented no new phenomenon but simply a continuation of the objectives of the First Five Year Plan partly achieved, although the nine assisted station boarding schools showed inability to produce the required numbers of Standard Six candidates for the training of medical, agricultural, teaching and other fields.¹⁵⁹ Besides the Plan failed to replace European supervisors at the end of the five years; which partly demonstrated the continued lack of sufficient confidence in African capabilities and capacity.

The Third Education Development Plan 1954-1959

The new Education Plan bore several features of interest. In the first place the Plan fell within the era of the Central African Federation to give test to the false hopes for financial benefits from the Federal scheme. Secondly it was a time of increased African demands as the new Nyasaland constitution allowed a new generation of Africans to be "elected" into the Legislative Council in the mid-1950's, through the African Provincial Councils; and these were mostly members of the Nyasaland African Congress. Furthermore this period witnessed the production by Government of A Plan for Educational Development 1957/61, overlapping to a certain degree with the 1954/59 Plan as increased evaluation of primary education in retrospect and prospect brought new ideas. The main changes in the new Plan included administration and control. Owing to financial stringency characterizing the previous Plan, grants-in-aid from central funds were frozen and Native Treasuries made up for the shortfall. Besides, provision of school buildings had also

become the responsibility mainly of the Native Treasuries and the Missions.

Under the new Plan central Government assumed responsibility for capital grants for schools on African trust land, with a fixed rate of the grants laid down on the assumption of the availability of local materials and unskilled labour on self-help basis. Perhaps one of the important features of the new Plan was the provision of assistance for sufficient teachers¹⁶⁰ to abolish the system of double session teaching in those schools short of teachers. The main idea of the central Government assuming more financial responsibility was said to have been an attempt to encourage Local Authorities themselves to assist new schools from local funds and expand facilities while accepting full liability for recurrent and capital grants.¹⁶¹ But whatever steps were initiated around this time to improve education, the enrolment at primary levels indicates the enormous work still ahead for the achievement of any ultimate goal of universal primary education. For example only 38% of the school age population was enrolled in 1954. And when existing schools were fully consolidated, available school places would cater for only 130,000 pupils, less than 50% of the estimated figures.¹⁶² Universal education, if introduced, would necessitate about 750 more new primary schools with some 3,700 teachers involving an increase in expenditure of £400,000¹⁶³ per annum for primary education alone.

The situation offered no real hope, especially when even out of the meagre national figure of 1002 candidates for the Standard Six examination only 540¹⁶⁴ passed. The position as it stood seemed, in a way, to confirm the ethos of Mass Education (1944). As W.E.F. Ward of the Colonial Office reiterated in 1949 "mass education is to be an essential part of development policy in all British Colonial territories in Africa".¹⁶⁵ Some Colonial Office individuals thus seemed to consider universal primary schooling as almost synonymous with mass education. But this was in so far as mass education provided the least expensive answer to African education which did not have to be elitist. In fact Ward's retrogressive suggestion for economy and speed included the recruitment of school children as pupil-teachers attached to a qualified teacher with no regard to the pupil-teacher's sacrifice of his own education as he spent time

teaching instead of improving his own academic standing. It was clear in his colonial education philosophy that Malawi's educational situation elicited no major sympathy from people like Ward, although the 1951 Binns Commission made suggestions more progressive than Ward's ideas. It comes as no surprise therefore that Ward's views came under attack from some progressive colonial educators who saw them as "an indefinite dilution of trained teachers with an overwhelming number of untrained assistants" leading to "an inevitable slowing of the educational programme to the chaotic efficiency which would result from too high a proportion of pupil-teachers".¹⁶⁶

However, the hope in the Third Plan lay in the bias, on the local scene, for vertical rather than horizontal educational growth. But the success and failures in Malawi's Third Education Plan were still to be seen. The debate on primary education policy in Malawi in the 1950's assumed more dynamic proportions as Africans continued to feel intrigued by British colonial policy. The Federal era, with all the vehement African opposition to it, provided an opportunity, both inside and outside the Legislative Council, for a more vocal African demand for an overhaul of the educational system. The period 1956-1959 was particularly noteworthy. African members of the Legislative Council in fact queried the Third Plan and demanded its revision to reflect a more favourable plan for African education. In fact Africans advocated an independent Commission of Inquiry into African education, primary, secondary and higher.

One of the problems in the educational system was government failure through the Department of Education to muster full awareness of the way education actually operated.¹⁶⁷ This contributed to the formation of a Committee, not only to revise the primary school syllabus but also consider the possibility of making Oral English compulsory in Class B and advise on the possibility of introducing Oral English in Class A, the first year of schooling in the African primary course. This action seemed necessary within the new Federal structure in which English proficiency represented a very important qualification for the so-called general franchise.¹⁶⁸

The African view in this matter was that the Department of Education would come up with a workable solution to any likely technical problems accompanying any eventual introduction of English as a medium

of instruction. Besides, African demands continued to extend to include an increase of Government-operated community schools. On its part Government withheld any definite commitment and treated the matter in a normal way.¹⁶⁹ The 1954-59 Five Year Plan, aimed at consolidating existing primary education with due attention paid to the improvement of the teaching services and both classroom and teachers' residential accommodation, had failed to go far enough; and although some progress had taken place, African uproar had to be placated by the concession to revise the Plan even without yielding to the demand for free and non-sectarian government education.

.....I believe that the Five Year Plan is now becoming outmoded. It was planned some time ago without anticipating the educational needs of the country in future years. Now it is becoming quite clear that the provisions made in that Plan are not sufficient to cope with the educational needs of the country.¹⁷⁰

The new Plan for Educational Development 1957/61,¹⁷¹ accompanied by the Capital Development Plan 1957/61¹⁷² was, in a foreword by the Secretary for African Affairs (J.H. Ingham), described as complementary to, rather than a replacement of, the 1954/59 Plan. It represented perhaps a most ambitious African educational projection and yet against the decor of an overall stagnating economy.¹⁷³ Peasant farming failed to register any real progress despite the introduction, as an incentive, of the Master Farmer Scheme which only alienated the few farmers in question as collaborators of the much abhorred Federation.¹⁷⁴ The long term objectives of educational policy in Nyasaland were said to include efficient universal primary education, expansion of secondary education, provision of technical education facilities, training of sufficient teachers within the territory for both primary and secondary schools, provision of equality of educational opportunity for boys and girls and preparation of able pupils for university education.¹⁷⁵ But right from the outset the Plan's glaring weakness was the exclusion of other schools to confine itself only to Government and Government-assisted schools. The Federal scheme promised nothing better. In fact although the Federal Education Act of January 1st 1957 seemed to promise better development, Malawians were not the main beneficiaries

of the Federal Plan.¹⁷⁶ Apart from establishment of schools, proposed free tuition in all Government schools to all residents of the Federation, prescription of English as a language of instruction, compulsory school attendance for ages 7-15, the Federal Scheme demonstrated a racialist bias which required all non-Africans within three miles of a school to attend. In any case, any Federal educational development plans did not directly affect African primary education which remained the territorial Government responsibility.

The 1957/61 Plan seemed to confirm the perennial African complaints in the Legislative Council. The Plan's objective to consolidate primary education unfortunately failed to match the increasing school population. Even the educational advances claimed by Government could not justify the self-praise.¹⁷⁷ In 1957 there were 3,300¹⁷⁸ pupils out of a primary school population of 246,240¹⁷⁹ in a total population of about two and three quarter million. The Standard Six class represented an important ladder to various professions and, indeed, secondary education; and yet even the few secondary schools in the country sometimes experienced wastage of space which often lacked good candidates to fill. However, the new Plan sounded promising with a projected increase of expenditure of 52% on education by 1961.¹⁸⁰ To keep pace with the increasing numbers of children of primary age, the estimated annual requirements for new schools was 21, absorbing a total of some 230 new teachers by the end of the Plan to proceed by district quotas of such teachers, as demanded by District Education Committees where these existed.

The Plan was criticised right from the beginning for being too idealistic, especially in the case of teachers who continued to be in short supply. Africans particularly criticised the uneven distribution of schools irrespective of population density. For example the Northern Region, with a population of 379,644, had 305 primary schools with 30,909 pupils, the Central Region with a population of 983,814 possessed 258 primary schools with 44,950 pupils. The Southern Region population of 1,296,522 with 48,012 pupils had only 303 primary schools.¹⁸¹ This presented a clear illustration of Government failure to regulate distribution of schools. The unnecessary congestion which affected performance led to the preponderance of the north over the other regions, a hot political issue in subsequent years whose rectification

by the independent Government demanded a lot of skill and tact in reducing the regional imbalance.

The implementation of the Plan was not fully notified to various authorities who found themselves helpless. For example the Acting Provincial Commissioner, Northern Province, protested vehemently against the injunction that Local Authority teachers would be paid by Local Authorities themselves as from 1st January 1958, an abrupt transfer of responsibility which engendered financial embarrassment. This interesting situation was interpreted by Malawians as yet a new trick against educational progress because, although Local Authorities could administer the schools, central Government funding was still necessary to run an effective education system. The Africans now demanded a full independent Commission of Inquiry which arrived in 1961 for a thorough examination of the system to recommend improvements. The Colonial Office was equally eager to assuage the anxious questioners in the British Parliament on the state of African education in Malawi¹⁸² in the late 1950's as opposition to the Federation, due for review in 1960, mounted. The Governor of Nyasaland found himself at pains to present figures to the Colonial Office likely to give an impression of progress¹⁸³ during the Federal era with its racial approach to education. Some schools in fact lost their status as their classes were reduced.¹⁸⁴ Very little had yet been uncovered to explain the backwardness of the Central Region or Province. Such missing information seemed crucial to any effective planning of education for the development of the whole Protectorate. This formed the milieu and decor for the Economic Survey of Nyasaland 1958/59¹⁸⁵ and the Phillips Commission on Education whose Report¹⁸⁶ came out in 1962.

The Jack Commission of 1958/59 constituted by both the territorial and Federal Governments was designed as a Federal propaganda exercise to justify the claim of Malawi's economic advancement under the Federal structure. On the other hand, an honest assessment of the economic situation was to demonstrate the fiasco of the Federal scheme in the economic and social development of Malawi. That the Jack Commission came a year after the launching of the 1957/61 Education Plan significantly shows the confusion attending the planners. The Jack Report was of course economic in general orientation in preparation

for the 1960 Federal review, but an economic report was impossible without an examination of the educational system.¹⁸⁷

One of the most useful revelations of the Jack Report was the statistical data of a stunted education system which embarrassed the claimed virtues of the Federation. As Africans demanded more and higher educational facilities "there is need in all branches of the economy for better educated and responsible Africans".¹⁸⁸ Most of the majority of African children, comprising 20% of the two and three quarter million people still dropped out in the pre-Standard I stage at the rate of 57.7%, while 24% of all school-age children either did not attend or attained only the pre-Standard I primary education. To make matters worse sectarianism continued to plague education and partly accounted for the high drop-out rate among children who resisted conversion. Catholics were particularly active, to the chagrin of the other Missions, in their establishment of schools dominating the scene and breaking the old-age monopoly with their 1249 schools out of a total of 2,884 by 1959.¹⁸⁹ Thirteen out of the 48 secondary schools and teacher training institutions were in Catholic hands unassisted, the rest being shared among the other Missions. In general Catholic education earned the usual odium from the other Missions and derision from Malawians as inferior in quality with its emphasis on religion and subjects like music.¹⁹⁰ The Catholic interest in a mere large following was usually confirmed in territorial Government examinations where performance of pupils in Catholic schools was mediocre. However, whatever the case, the Jack Commission represented a Federal exercise without real African blessing although one of its significant recommendations, apart from a revision of the primary curriculum to fit primary school leavers for prospective employment, proposed the Standard Six certificate to be made the minimum school leaving qualification "as soon as possible and thus a common attainment",¹⁹¹ a step to entail upgrading most of the primary schools to senior levels in pursuit of the policy of universal education half-heartedly enunciated by Government. The Jack Commission, however, represented no alternative to an African-demanded and supported Commission of Inquiry. The African demands were answered by the

1961 Committee of Inquiry into African Education, led by Professor J.F.V. Phillips.¹⁹²

Background to the Phillips Committee of Inquiry into African Education

In 1958 a motion put forward by African members of the Legislative Council demanded an inquiry into African education.¹⁹³ Action was delayed to await the results of the Jack Economic Survey of 1958/59, but resurrected in 1960. But the idea of a Commission originated earlier than 1958. The suggestion for a Commission Inquiry was first seriously considered, though not adopted, by the Advisory Committee on African Education at its meeting in December, 1955.¹⁹⁴ The proposal for the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry received further consideration in November, 1956 with Miss Gwilliam and Professor Fletcher, members of the 1951 Binns Commission, in attendance. As a gesture of politeness, a working party¹⁹⁵ was appointed to examine the Binns Commission recommendations, report on progress since Binns, and recommend future action.

One important aspect of the Phillips Commission was the width of the cross-section of the opinion consulted. The year 1960 marked the beginning of a new era with all its political activity after the 1959 "political disturbances" which led to a State of Emergency¹⁹⁶ and arrest of leading African political activists like Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda and other members of the Nyasaland African Congress proscribed in that year but re-emerging in 1960 in the form of the Malawi Congress Party. That year marked the watershed in the colonial history of Africa as colonies moved towards independence following in the footsteps of Ghana (Gold Coast) which won independence in 1957.

Harold Macmillan, on a tour of Africa including Malawi, was in no doubt regarding Malawi's political destiny and the State of Emergency came to an end with Dr. Banda's release from detention on 1st April, 1960; Macmillan's famous prediction on "winds of change" in Africa reverberated in all corners of the British African continent echoing what Lord Hailey had called the imminent "post-War changes in Africa".¹⁹⁷ Colonial education policy around this time had to take into account the new developments among colonial subjects. The already existing change in social and political consciousness among Africans¹⁹⁸ had

created such urgency in retitling colonial educational strategies. In fact by 1958 the policy for Malawi had to clearly focus on an education for eventual self-government.¹⁹⁹ The situation in Southern Rhodesia, with its unique political system and problems, was of course different²⁰⁰ in terms of colonial policy and aspirations in view of its minority self-governing status which necessarily tried to suppress African educational advancement.

The Phillips Committee or Commission, was welcome not only to Africans but to Government as well, as the best hope to sort out the muddled education in Malawi as confirmed by the massive evidence submitted to the Committee from various quarters in the community. This evidence was put to significant use in the compilation of a fairly objective Report, particularly with regard to education other than higher. The representations to the Phillips Committee provide the most revealing assessment of underdeveloped education in Malawi and openly demonstrates the failure of the educationists and Government to devise a more potent formula for progressive African education.

Complaints from Africans continued to include absence of kindergarten schools as the foundation of subsequent education, lowering of primary school standards resulting from changes in syllabuses, management of schools,²⁰¹ Government failure to significantly subsidize education for Muslim children unable to pay the ^{pre}subscribed fees, especially in Mangochi (former Fort Johnston),²⁰² the negative policy of non-repetition of class by failures,²⁰³ "need for quality by dispensing with village schools, most of which are run by a local committee of church elders,"²⁰⁴ need for an education for socio-economic upliftment with increased Government participation and direction to enhance the necessary leadership²⁰⁵ instead of making it examination-centred. Conflicting views were of course only to be expected. For example, while the primary education was seen by some Malawians as of low standard, people like D. Potter condemned the primary curriculum as too advanced.²⁰⁶ The African voice in the Legislative Council debates of February 1958 articulated these problems.²⁰⁷ As one African M.L.C. said, the Education Department was the department most criticised by the public²⁰⁸ and, therefore, deserved a thorough assessment of its

operations by the Committee of Inquiry²⁰⁹ which indeed thought of the Department of Education as slipping backwards.

The Committee embarked on its investigations on 16th January 1961 as Malawi was preparing for constitutional changes and the first general elections ever which swept the Malawi Congress Party into power in August 1961. The Malawi Congress Party Election Manifesto emphasized on education as an important platform to rally popular support. The demand represented no particularly new phenomenon but commanded a new air of hope.

The Party's ultimate aim and objective is the provision of Universal Education and towards this end the Malawi Congress Party will take immediate steps to see that all children who go to primary schools finish their primary education without let or hindrance.....

The Party will take immediate steps to associate the local people with the management of primary education through their democratically elected local government bodies in cooperation with voluntary agencies concerned.²¹⁰

In its inquiries the Committee was conscious of the new political developments in Malawi with an increasingly preponderant African voice.

The two major problems awaiting an African majority Government as identified by the Committee included "low standard of education at all levels....." and "lack of money".²¹¹ The second factor showed clearly the exploitation of Malawi by the Federal structure in terms of resources which benefitted mainly Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). The Federation had operated for almost seven years without making any distinct mark of achievement in Malawi, economically and educationally, despite the propaganda claim by Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister, of success to the contrary.²¹² Nyasaland's capital assets lay in human labour for the neighbouring countries.²¹³ So long as Malawian migrant labour formed a crucial factor in the economies of the other Federal territories, especially Zimbabwe, progressive African primary education in Malawi was an undesirable contradiction. It is correct that total expenditure on African education rose steadily,²¹⁴ but this failed to keep pace with the population expansion, about three million in 1960, with increasing educational demands. Low academic standards, wastage, age entry and class promotion, distribution of schools, incentives to stimulate local initiative

and the evil of unassisted schools²¹⁵ and control of schools which missionaries were anxious to see as shared responsibility with either Government or Local Authorities,²¹⁶ continued as problem areas. The spirit of local self-help as an indirect way of financing primary education had failed to gain sufficient acceptance until an African Government came to power. The Committee had to examine all these problems.

Some Recommendations of the Phillips Report for Primary Education

By the time the Report came out an African majority Government in Malawi had been sworn in, with the first African Minister for Education taking office in 1961. This in effect meant that the Report had, as much as possible, to reflect African aspirations. Among the interesting recommendations was universal primary education with an annual intake of 75,000 children into Sub-Standard A in assisted junior primary schools. This clearly meant a drastic increase over earlier enrolments.²¹⁷

But the financial implications of such a recommendation meant the pressure of 2,000 primary schools, with fifty new ones constructed annually, to meet the growing population and educational demands, especially in areas with schools sparsely provided. However, this development would only make sense with an expanded entry into senior primary which formed an extension of the recommendation. The Report advocated raising from the present 40% to 50% of the total Standard Three pupils entering Standard IV; this trend meant an eventual intake of 20,000 into Standard IV requiring five hundred senior primary schools. Of the more revolutionary recommendations the suggestion to absorb unassisted schools, phasing in a programme for grant allocation to such schools for a five-year period seemed to offer new hope. But the corollary meant phasing out and replacing all uncertified teachers²¹⁸ in the long run. However, the expressed general principle against the opening of a new school, unless eligible for a grant-in-aid, sounded a difficult stipulation for the enhancement of primary education. The move, designed for the proper control and streamlining of primary education, did not win favour among most Africans as the local communities were now inspired by the nationalistic political slogan of

'self-help' including education. One positive recommendation advocated "compulsory schooling for every child from the age of six" in urban areas and requested the newly constituted Ministry of Education to prepare a special development plan for the urban schools. The danger of such a move of course lay in the potential influx of children into the towns to take advantage of the compulsory education facilities with their higher standards. The ~~comparatively advanced school buildings and equipment~~, and the well qualified teachers in urban schools always served as an attraction. One aspect assiduously enforced by the majority African Government was to emphasize on Local Education Authorities to be responsible for the expansion of the primary school system financed from the local rates for more revenue. But in all this planning the most crucial element remained the shortage of trained teachers. The final acceptance by teachers in 1960 of the Unified African Teaching Service Rules seemed to throw a glimmer of hope as an attraction for people to join teaching with its improved conditions of service.

The Phillips Report represents an elaborate document covering almost all the areas of education in Malawi but the new Government was forming new ideas when the Report was published. The Committee was constituted as Malawi was going through a political transition. But in fact, for all it was worth, the Phillips Report's omission of a recommendation for the establishment of a university of Malawi formed a major blemish which quickly provoked the reaction of the majority African Government in its haste to improve and promote African education. The action recommended in the 1962 Report failed to go far enough to meet African educational aspirations.

It was against this state of affairs that a new team of experts²¹⁹ was commissioned by the new Nyasaland Government to carry out "a comprehensive assessment of Nyasaland's (Malawi's) needs for educational institutions and curricular emphasis" and put forward "proposals for an educational plan required for Malawi's economic and social development for the next fifteen years", paying "balanced attention to the educational needs of all age groups" aimed at "a closely integrated system"²²⁰ in the light of previous relevant surveys, including that of manpower.

Conclusion

In any discussion of education for development the planning "should start where the Malawians are and proceed to approximately where they want to be by whatever means will be the most efficacious in Malawi, however unorthodox by outside practices".²²¹ As the Johnson Report pointed out, Malawi's major problem was the syndrome of inadequacy, "inadequate training, deficient teachers, poorly educated pupils".²²² The problem of inadequacy could not be solved by the hitherto emphasis on mass education without a proper elitist education to form the disseminating centre. The Phillips Report covered vast ground, and Government recognition of the document in fact led to the revision of the Education Ordinance in March 1962 to give it the necessary legal sanction. As a result an enlarged Inspectorate, incorporating the Examinations Office was set up in Blantyre, separate from the main administration. But the significant need around this time was for an education policy free in itself from the balance between "conflicting aims and fears",²²³ uplifting the African without fearing his ultimate predominance.

As late as 1961 the details in the underdevelopment of African education shocked the Addis Ababa Conference as staggeringly appalling.²²⁴ This acted as an additional impetus for Malawi's urgency in educational policy formulation to meet the demands of national development and operate a primary system for that goal. The cost was obviously to be high but that was the meaning of self-government when educated cadres are charged with the responsibility of making important rational decisions of the greatest benefit for the greatest number. It was in 1961 that an African-headed Ministry of Education in Malawi attempted the hitherto impossible; introducing an experimental course in English in sub-standards A and B at twelve selected primary schools in the Southern Province, with an ultimate report by a European Permanent Secretary, I.C.H. Freeman, that the children involved "showed great enthusiasm".²²⁵

But it needed an African leadership to take such a daring step. It was not the mechanics as much as the recognition of the

pressing need that underwent some metamorphosis. It is therefore possible to conclude this chapter by stating that the history of primary education in Malawi 1945-61 is one shrouded in wrangling regarding the proper type, uncertainties and failures in policy implementation. Sometimes, lack of proper coordination between the Colonial Office and Malawi retarded primary education, occasionally because educationists on the spot felt more competent than metropolitan Colonial Office personnel in deciding the best education for Africans; this was after an education which promoted underdevelopment and strained the new African Government from September 1961 when "Education for Development" became the watchword, as²²⁶ agriculture received unprecedented emphasis in the primary curriculum for a country with a basically agricultural economy.

Footnotes to Chapter II

1. Cited by Marshall W. Murphree, Education, Development and Change in Africa. (The Alfred and Winefred Hoernle' Memorial Lecture 1976, South African Institute of Race Relations, Pietermaritzburg 1976) p.9. Hereinafter Murphree, Education.
2. Murphree, Education. p.6.
3. Ibid p.8.
4. Margaret Read, Africans and their Schools (British Commonwealth Affairs No. 8, Longmans, London 1953), passim. Hereinafter Read, Africans and their Schools.
5. Such missions included Zambezi Industrial Mission, Nyasa Industrial Mission, Providence Industrial Mission, Seventh Day Adventists, South Africa General Mission, African Methodist Episcopal Church, African Churches of Christ and the Watchtower Movement. For general information see S.S. Murray, A Handbook of Nyasaland. (Govt. Printer, Zomba 1921 and 1933 Editions). Hereinafter Murray Handbook.
6. A detailed narrative of Catholic educational activities is by I.A.J. Nankwenya, "Christian Influence on Education in Malawi up to Independence with Special Reference to the Role of Catholic Missions", (D. Ed. Thesis, UNISA, 1972). Hereinafter Nankwenya, "Role of Catholic Missions".
7. Eg. The Phelps Stokes Commission of 1924.
8. See James W.C. Dougall, "The Development of the Education of the African in relation to western contact", Africa Vol XI (July 1958) No. 3 pp 312-323; B. Malinowski, "Native Education and Culture Contact", I.R.M. Vol 25 (1936) pp 480-515. Hereinafter I.R.M.
9. Dougall "Development of Education..." Africa Vol XI (July 1958) p.313.
10. Dougall Ibid p.313 Also J.H. Oldham, "Educational Work of Missionary Societies", Africa Vol VII No. 1.
11. Dougall Ibid p. 314.
12. Dougall Ibid p. 314. Rev. Dr. J.W. C. Dougall at one stage became General Secretary of the Church of Scotland, a very prominent position after serving as Africa Secretary and as Principal, Jeanes Centre in Kikuyu, Kenya.

Footnotes to Chapter II (Cont'd)

13. Ibid. p. 316
14. Ibid. p. 316
15. J.L. Pretorius, "The Story of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission in Nyasaland", N.J. Vol X No. 1 (Jan 1957) p. 11
Also see Godfrey N. Brown, "British Educational Policy in West and Central Africa" J.M.A.S. Vol II No. 3 (1964) p. 367.
16. Malinowski, "Native Education..." I.R.M. Vol 25 (1936) p. 483.
17. A view strongly expressed by fifteen out of every twenty Malawian informants answering a question on this aspect.
18. See F.J.D. Lugard, The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa. (William Blackwood, Edinburgh and London, 1922) Passim. Hereinafter Lugard, Dual Mandate. Also G.C. Latham, "Indirect Rule and Education in East Africa", Africa Vol VIII (Oct 1934) No. 4 pp 423-430.
19. These statements include:
 - a] Education Policy in British Tropical Africa (H.M.S.O. London, 1925).
 - b] The Memorandum on the Education of African Communities (H.M.S.O., London 1935)
 - c] Mass Education in African Society (H.M.S.O., London 1944).
 - d] Education for Citizenship in Africa (H.M.S.O., London 1948).
20. For example interview with Mr. Thomas Price, Lay Missionary at Blantyre Mission (1928-1946) on 17.2.82. In reply to what type of education he would have proposed for today's Malawi, Price said:
"I would have denied the current dogma that you have to select the cream and train the leaders...Anybody who has got brains and the energy will look after themselves. He doesn't need me... People would be stopped before going on to university". Also see Blantyre Mission Council Minutes of 25th March 1943, "Statement of Educational Policy-Appendix" Acc 7548 330B, (N.L.S. Edinburgh). Village Schools formed a priority area for Blantyre Mission.
21. Nyasaland, Native Education Conference 1927 Report, (Government Printer, 1927, Zomba) pp 10-11.



Footnotes to Chapter II (Cont'd)

22. Price, op cit.
23. Murphree, Education... p. 5.
24. Ibid p. 4.
25. Interview with Mr. Ernest Joya Banda (born 1918) of Ntagaluka Village, Chief Mponda, Mangochi, August 1980. Numerous other Malawian informants expressed this view. An interesting article is by F. Clarke, "The Double Mind in African Education", Africa Vol V (April 1932) No. 2.
26. Cited by Brown, "British Educational Policy..." J.M.S.A. p. 369.
27. Brown, Ibid p. 369.
28. David Scanlon, ed. Traditions of African Education (Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, N.Y. 1964) p. 94.
29. Murphree, op cit, p.8.
30. L.Z. Mumba Papers: Shepperson Collection, Edinburgh University. The "Notes" dated October 1937.
31. Governor D.M. Kennedy to Viscount Cramborne, Sec. of State, 9.3.42 Despatch No. 27 CO 525/190/4407.0/1. (PRO).
32. Ibid.
33. The 1910 Mission Education Code reduced grades of Schools from five to three as follows:
 - i] Vernacular (Village)
 - ii] Anglo-Vernacular (Central)
 - iii] Institutions and Colleges with Normal School, Commercial, Medical, Theological and Technical training under qualified European supervision.

Sources: I.C. Lamba, "The Cape Dutch Reformed Church Mission in Malawi: A Preliminary Historical Examination of Its Educational Philosophy and Application, 1889-1931", forthcoming in the H.E.Q. and T.J.H. By 1938 the primary nomenclatures included the Village School, Central School (some included Normal School dealing with teacher training), and Station School.
34. Lugard, The Dual Mandate, Ch. IV p. 65.

Footnotes to Chapter II (Cont'd)

35. Interview with Dr. Johan K. Louw, a D.R.C. missionary educationist 1942-1972, on 2nd Feb. 1982, Zomba, Malawi.
36. J.L. Pretorius, "The Story of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission in Nyasaland", N.J. Vol 10 No. 1 Jan. 1957, p. 11
In the early 1950's Pretorius refused to recommend Mr. Kagona Banda, a teacher under him, to proceed to Edinburgh for a diploma sponsored by British Council just because ambition for a diploma meant PRIDE in the African. Interview with Mr. Kagona Banda 25.12.82, Zomba.
37. Appendix III to "The Education of the Native in Relation to the Economic Needs and Possibilities of the Protectorate", A. Travers Lacey, Director of Education, to all Heads of Missions ref 2/27/1 dated 23rd Nov. 1932. (D.R.C.M. Correspondence on Education 1906-1933, Box 1, MNA Zomba).
38. N.A.C.R. 1938, p. 41
39. A. Travers Lacey, op cit
In 1939 there were in Village Schools 16,533 boys and 14,054 girls in Class 1; 5,619 boys and 3,731 girls in Class 2; 3,928 boys and 1,779 girls in Class 3; 3,416 boys and 1,263 girls in Class 4. The figures dwindled further in upper classes in (1939) : Source: Ed. Dep. Rep. 1939 p. 21. In 1945 the Class 1 of 1939 after 7 years in school and which started with 16,533 boys and 14,054 girls dwindled to 2,941 boys and 524 girls (Standard 2). Ed. Dep. Rep. 1945, p. 9.
40. J.T. Heynes, "The Dutch Reformed Church Mission and Education in Nyasaland", (unpublished B.Ed. essay, University of Stellenbosch 1932) Ch. IV p. 3. Hereinafter Heynes, D.R.C.M.
41. Heynes, Ibid Ch. V p.1.
42. J.H. Oldham and B.D. Gibson, The Remaking of Man in Africa (OUP London 1931) p. 51. Hereinafter, Oldham and Gibson, Remaking of Man...
43. Freda Gwilliam and Margaret Read, Report on the Education of Women and Girls in Nyasaland August and September, 1947 (Government Printer, Zomba 1948) p. 2. Hereinafter Gwilliam and Read, Report. This was a long-time demand. Also see on behalf of Nyasaland African Congress, H.K. Banda to A. Creech-Jones, 14.6.46 C0525/199/44397 (P.R.O.).
44. Ed. Dep. Rep. 1938 p. 13.
45. A. Travers Lacey, op cit.

Footnotes to Chapter II (Cont'd)

46. "they were both races teaching between 1949 and 1951 at Kongwe (D.R.C.M.). Mr. Sajiwa, a Malawian in particular impressed me. Arithmetic gave Mr. Toerin (an Afrikaner) problems". Interview with Mr. Henderson J. Kachimanga in Mangochi, August 1980. Born February 1931.
47. Mins. of Livingstonia Mission Council Executive Committee Meeting 30th June 1940, Acc 7458 (NLS Edinburgh).
48. Livingstonia Mission Minutes, 11th June 1944 Acc 7458 (NLS Edinburgh).
49. See Ed Dep Rep 1941 p. 4.
50. Ibid p. 5.
51. D.R.C.M. Annual Report to the Director of Education
Ed Dep Rep 1944 p. 3.
52. Ed Dep Rep 1942 p. 4.
53. Ibid p. 4. 1942.
- | Statistics: | <u>Enrolment</u> | <u>Av. attendance</u> |
|-------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| 1942 | 173,692 | 123,083 |
| 1941 | 175,783 | 125,861 |
- 1942: Pupils in standard iv-vi: 1,293 (1,235 boys and 58 girls)
- 1941: " " " : 1,440 (1,353 boys and 87 girls)
- Source: Ed Dep Rep 1943 p. 4.
54. Ed Dep Rep 1944 p. 3.
55. Ed Dep Rep 1943 pp 2-7
56. A.V. Murray, The School in the Bush: A critical Study of The Theory and Practice of Native Education in Africa (Frank Cass and Co. 1967 impression) p. 232. Hereinafter Murray, School in the Bush.
57. See Colin Legum, Pan-Africanism: A Short Political Guide (Praeger, New York, 1965) Passim. Hereinafter, Legum, Pan-Africanism.
58. Margaret Wrong, Five Points for Africa p. 83. cited in CO 525/199/44379, H.K. Banda to A. Creech-Jones, 14.6.46. (PRO London).

Footnotes to Chapter II (Cont'd)

59. H.K. Banda to A. Creech-Jones, 14.6.46. CO 525/199/44379 (PRO).
60. Ed. Dep Rep 1946 p. 1.
61. N.A.C.R. 1946 p. 5.
62. N.A.C.R. 1932 p. 28.
63. Nyasaland Protectorate: Report of the Post-War Development Committee, (Government Printer, Zomba 1945). Hereinafter Nyasaland P.W. Dev. Rep. Education is contained in the Interim Report No. 2.
64. "The estimated (1942) African population in round figures is 2,140,000 of which 922,900 are under 18 years of age and of whom 481,000 are boys and 44,300 are girls...The returns for 1942 showed a total of 173,692 pupils with an average attendance of 123,083 at School. P.W. Dev Rep. p. 40.
65. P.W. Dev. Rep. p. 40.
66. See Malawi Parliamentary Hansard, 18th December 1981 pp 508-509; Ngwazi Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda, Life President of Malawi, originally from Kasungu, had his early education from the once Livingstonia Mission School at Chilanga, Kasungu where the D.R.C.M., on taking over the school struck off English from the syllabus. Also supporting this view see "Memo from Nyasaland African Congress to Governor Edmund C. Richards". 15th May 1945 p. 10. CO 525/199/44379 (PRO). "From childhood the Dutch were taught to dislike or hate two things: English and black Africans whose numerical superiority posed a threat to Dutch survival since the battles with Dingaan". Interview with Mr. Kagona Banda, 25.12.82 in Zomba.
67. Ngwazi Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda's speech reported in Daily Times of Malawi of 26th Nov. 1982 with reference to the reasons why Dr. Banda decided to personally build his Kamuzu Academy in Kasungu designed as an institution of educational excellence with subjects including classics.
68. John McCracken, "Planters, Peasants and the Colonial State: the Impact of the Native Tobacco Board in the Central Province of Malawi". J.S.A.S. Vol. 9 No. 2. (April 1983). Passim.
69. See Ed Dep Rep 1939 p. 4.

Footnotes to Chapter II(Cont'd)

70. P.W. Dev. Rep. p. 41.

71. Livingstonia Mission Council Minutes, 11th June 1944 (N.L.S. Acc 7548). This was a reaction to the Colonial Office 1944 document on Mass Education.

72. Ed Dep Rep 1935 p. 18.

73. See "Rules to provide for Compulsory Education within certain parts of the Area under the Jurisdiction of the Henga-Nkhamanga Native Administration". Ed Dep Rep 1935 pp 18-20.

74. Ibid The fees schedule was as follows:
Class I 6d per annum
Class II 1/- per annum
Class III 1/6 per annum
Class IV 2/- per annum

75. Attendance figures on the Introduction of Compulsion:

<u>School</u>	<u>Average Attendance 1st term 1935 before compulsion</u>		<u>Average Attendance 2nd term 1935 after compulsion</u>	
	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
Bolero	110	42	149	153
Chizoli	30	10	25	24
Chikwawa	50	42	54	64
Chanda	43	28	45	63
Luviri	27	28	54	71

Ed Dep Rep. 1935, p. 20.

76. Ed Dep Rep. 1938, p. 21.

77. See "Memo by A.T. Lacey, Director of Education, for Consideration by the Committee appointed to Enquire into and Report on the Present Systems of Education in the Protectorate". August, 1939. (Acc 7548, N.L.S.).

78. These ideas originated in the Nyasaland Advisory Committee on Education. See Ed Dep Rep 1943 pp. 3-4.

79. P.W.D. Rep. p. 42

80. See Ibid p. 43.

Fees chargeable by all Missions:

Village Schools and in Central Schools below Std 1- maximum 6d per annum.

Central Schools Stds I-III - maximum 3/- per annum

Station Schools Stds IV-VI - maximum 6/- per annum

Footnotes to Chapter II (Cont'd)

81. Ibid pp. 42-47.
82. See Record and Proceedings of the Legislative Council of Nyasaland, 60th Session, 19-20th April and 15th May 1945. (MNA, Zomba).
83. Copy of the Education Ordinance, 1945, on C0525/194/44070/2 (PRO).
84. Ed Dep Rep 1954 pp. 3-4.
85. Ed Dep Rep 1945 p. 7. Ten years prior to the Second World War education grants to Missions remained stationary at about £11,500. Director of Education, 60th Session of Legco, Record of Proceedings.
86. Ibid.
87. See Dr. H.K. Banda to A. Creech Jones, 14.6.46. C0525/199/44379 (PRO). Also J.W.C. Dougall, "The Case for and against Mission Schools in the Colonies", Col. Rev. Aug. 1939 pp. 30-31.
88. Memo from the Nyasaland African Congress to Governor Edmund C. Richards 15.5.45. C0525/199/44379 (PRO).
89. Ed Dep Rep, 1946 p. 1.
90. Dr. Banda to A. Creech Jones, 14.6.46. C0525/199/44379 (PRO). Also see N.A.C.R. 1946 p. 8.
91. Memo from Nyasaland African Congress to Governor Edmund C. Richards 15.5.45. C0525/199/44379.
92. Ibid
93. Ed Dep Rep 1946 p. 3. Only 18 girls were in Standard Six against 229 boys. The population in 1946 as per the 1945 Census stood at around 2,225,000 Africans.
94. N.A.C.R., 1946 p. 13.
95. Ibid.
96. "Revised Report of Nyasaland Post-War Development Programme 1948". File CO 626/26 (PRO).

Footnotes to Chapter II (Cont'd)

97. Details in Gwilliam/Read, Report, Passim, to be treated more elaborately in Ch. V on "Education for African Girls".
98. Other members included Reverends D. Ross and Dr. Benzies. Their paper was entitled "Some Proposals for the Improvement of Education in Nyasaland", Co 525/202/44070/7 (PRO). Hereinafter, Dougall, Ross, Benzies, "Proposals.."
99. Dougall, Ross, Benzies, "Proposals...".
100. Gwilliam/Read, Report. p. 2.
101. See N.A.C.R. of 1946-49.
102. See Dougall, Ross, Benzies. op. cit.
103. Ibid.
104. Mins. of the First Meeting of the Planning Committee of Advisory Committee on African Education, 23.10.47. CO 525/202/44070/7 (PRO).
105. Ibid.
106. A.G. Fraser (Ag. Director of Education) to W.E.F. Ward (Colonial Office) 21.12.47. CO 525/202/44070/7 (PRO).
107. Government inspectors were always in short supply. For example the first visit to Likoma institutions of the U.M.C.A. since 1939 by a Government inspector came in 1947! See A.G. Blood ed. Annual Report 1947 (U.M.C.A.).
108. Teacher Training 1947 Examination (for the whole country) (1946 figures in brackets)
- | | <u>English Grade</u> | <u>Vernacular Grade</u> | <u>Domestic Grade</u> |
|-------------|----------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| No. entered | 30 (62) | 152 (194) | 12 (10) |
| No. passed | 29 (42) | 120 (125) | 12 (10) |
109. See footnote 59 Supra: Dr. H.K. Banda to A.Creech -Jones.
110. See "Minutes of a Special Meeting of the Advisory Committee on African Education", Zomba 16th Sep. 1947. CO 525/202/44070/6/47 (PRO).
111. Secretary of State for the Colonies to Officer administering the Government of Nyasaland 28.9.49 Telegram No. 386. CO 525/203/44070/11/1949 (PRO).

Footnotes to Chapter II (Cont'd)

112. The governorship of Malawi was vacant 27.3.47-30.3.48. Colby came back April 1953-10.4.56. He witnessed the closing years of the Second Five Year Education Plan (1954).
113. Both the Dougall and Gwilliam-Read Commissions proposed the institution of age limits as one way of improving primary school efficiency. See African opposition in Nyasaland African Congress Memo 4/54.
114. Detailed discussion in chapter on female education.
115. Mins. of the meeting of the Advisory Committee on Education (Colonial Office), 23.11.49, Governor Colby's 1948 opening address appended. CO 525/44070/1948.
116. Ibid.
117. Director of Education (D.S. Miller) to Chief Secretary, "Compulsory Education - M.P. No 15406" 1.11.49 in AFR. 323, Compulsory Education (African) File, Box 146 (MNA, Zomba).
118. Ibid.
119. N.A.C.R. 1949 p. 307.
120. See R.H. Keppel-Compton (Provincial Commissioner) to Chief Secretary, 16th Sept 1950 on File AFR 323, "Compulsory Education (African), op. cit.
121. Part of the Nyasaland Development Programme (Government Printer, Zomba 1948 revised). pp 16-18.
122. See Mins. of the various meetings on CO 525/202/44070/6; CO 525/202/44070/7; CO 525/202/44070/10 (PRO).
123. Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies: "Report by the Africa Sub-Committee on Education in Nyasaland" CO 525/202/44070/1949.
124. Recommended admission ages:

	1949	1950	1951 onwards	
Sub Standard A	9	8	7	
" " B	11	10	9	
Standard 1	13	12	11	
" 2	14	13	12	Girls exempted until 1951.
" 3	15	14	13	
" 4	16	15	14	
" 5	17	16	15	
" 6	18	17	16	

Footnotes to Chapter II (Cont'd)

124. (Cont'd) Source: "Report of Sub-Committee appointed by the Advisory Committee on African Education on Educational Plans and Policies for the Second Five Year Period". C0525/202/44070/49. Also Gen 956 (MNA, Zomba).
125. Ibid.
126. Details in C0 525/202/44070/1948 Supra. Also Ed Dep Rep 1950.
127. See for example L.B. Greaves, "Missions and Colonial Administration", Corona Vol III No. 1 Jan. 1951, pp 13-16. (a lecture given at Cambridge Summer School, 1950).
128. J. Beattie (Africa Secretary) to A. Doig 25.2.47 (letter No. 211) in ACC 7458 (N.L.S. Edinburgh).
129. Paradoxically one of the Commission's members was Miss Freda Gwilliam. The others were A.L. Binns (Chairman) and Prof. B.A. Fletcher.
130. Details in File Gen 959, "International Regional Education Conference, Nairobi 14-16th Aug. 1951", Box 163 (MNA, Zomba).
131. "Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa", working Paper. From Secretary of State for the Colonies Circular Savigram Confidential 12082/2/5121/5/51 File Gen 956 Box 163 (MNA, Zomba).
132. Nuffield Foundation and Colonial Office. African Education: A Study of Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa. (O.U.P. 1953) p. 5. Hereinafter Binns Report.
133. J. Mtalika Banda, General Secretary of N.A.C. to Director of Education, 31.7.1951.
134. See S.D. Naiwala, President-General of National Teachers' Association to Director of Education 16th Aug. 1951, File: Gen 956, "Education: Review of Colonial Policy" Box 163 (MNA, Zomba).
135. Ibid.
136. Ibid. Also see the apologia of the Phelps Stokes Report submitted by E.J. Theu, "Mission Pioneers Efforts and what the Commission of Phillips Stock (sic) (Phelps Stokes) saw in the Four R's", 20.8.1951. File Gen 956, "Education: Review of Colonial Policy", Box 163 (MNA, Zomba).
137. Naiwala, Ibid.

Footnotes to Chapter II (Cont'd)

138. Also of J.H. Eedle, "The Role of the Commissions of Inquiry and Special Reports in the Effective Development of Education in Some Former British Dependencies", (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, London 1974) p. 453. Hereinafter Eedle, "Commissions of Inquiry..."
139. Binns Report p. 90.
140. See article by Arthur Mayhew of the Colonial Office in Over-sea Education Vol XIV No. 1 (Oct 1942) condensed as: "Local Education Authorities in the Colonial Empire", Col. Rev. Vol III, (March 1943) pp 20-22.
141. See Ed Dep Rep, 1939 p. 9.
142. Director of Education to Chief Secretary, Zomba 22.10.1951, AFR 394 Box 148 (MNA, Zomba).
143. op. cit. 1939 p. 9.
144. Ibid. 1939 p. 9.
145. See Paper CO 5806/52 Appendix II, "Local Education Authorities" Part II "Extracts from the first schedule to the United Kingdom Education Act 1944", p. 12 File Gen 956 (MNA, Zomba) and also Appendix I, "Legislation Concerning Local Authorities" Ibid.
146. Mins. of 177th meeting of A.C.E.C. 19.1.50, "Note by the Colonial Office on the Development of Local Education Authorities in Africa", CO 525/217/44070/6/50.
147. Ibid.
148. Director of Education to Governor, 27.2.51, AFR 394, "The Establishment of Local Education Authorities and Primary Education-Policy". Box 148 (MNA, Zomba).
149. Acting Chief Secretary to Provincial Commissioner ref (B) 19, 204/11, 6.10.1951 AFR 394 Box 148 (MNA, Zomba).
150. Director of Education to Governor 27.2.1951
151. "A Scheme for the Establishment of Local Education Authorities" 1951 p.1. AFR 394 (Establishment of Local Education Authorities and Primary Education-Policy), Box 148 (MNA, Zomba).
152. Ibid. p. 1.

Footnotes to Chapter II (Cont'd)

153. Author unknown. "What Agency is to be Responsible for the Education begun under Missionary Auspices", Paper for Missionary Conference on Education Policy in Africa, July 12th 1949. ACC 7548, "African Education 1938-1952", (NLS, Edinburgh).
154. Details in paper by Rev. Neil Bernard, "Nyasaland Primary Education: The Finance and Control of Primary Education" 1953 ACC 7548, (NLS, Edinburgh).
155. Neil Bernard to John Watt (Edinburgh) 23.11.55, Ref R1/6/55.
156. Village Schools and Junior Primary Schools (Class 1 Sub A and Sub B) below Standard I.....6d per annum.
Junior Primary Schools Standard I to III.....3/- per annum
Senior Primary Schools Standard IV to VI.....6/- per annum
Source: Ref No. (B) 19204/11 Acting Chief Secretary, Zomba to Provincial Commissioners, 6.10.1951, AFR 394 Box 148 (MNA, Zomba). Other useful documents are AFR 394 Ref No. 19204/41, "African Primary Education" 5.12.1952, Box 148 (MNA, Zomba); AFR 394 Confidential Ref No. 19204/42 Chief Secretary to all Provincial Commissioners 5.12.1952, "Financing of African Primary Education" Box 148 (MNA, Zomba).
157. A.G. Fraser, "Retrospect and Prospect; the Development of Primary Education during the first half of the period covered by the Second Five Year Plan (1950-1954)", Sept 1952; File, AFR 394, "Establishment of L.E.A. and Primary Education - Policy; Box 148 (MNA, Zomba).
158. Ibid.
159. Ed Dep Rep 1954 p. 4.
160. Ibid p. 7.
161. Total expenditure on African education from public funds in 1954 was £414,762, an increase of £85,024 over 1953 and yet still insufficient. Part of the increase originated from a teachers' salary revision in May 1953, affecting staff in assisted schools and also Government. Ibid. p. 11.
162. Ibid p. 12.
163. Ibid
164. Ibid p. 13.

Footnotes to Chapter II (Cont'd)

165. See W.E.F. Ward, "A New Attitude to Education", Overseas Education Vol XX No. 4 (July 1949) p. 912. UNESCO on its part was stressing on the term FUNDAMENTAL EDUCATION. See UNESCO, "UNESCO and Fundamental Education", I.R.M. Vol 37 (1948) pp 451-454.
166. See R.J. Harvey, "A New Attitude Towards Education", Overseas Education, Vol XXI, No. 2 Jan 1950, p. 1018.
167. Mr. J.R.N. Chinyama mentioned this in the Legislative Council. African members wanted the Department of Education to keep a constant watch on education in remote schools rarely, if ever, visited by Inspectors of Schools. See Minute Sheet on Legco extracts 9-13th July 1956, File 25966 Secret Box 5948. (MNA, Zomba).
168. Director of Education to Chief Secretary, 14.1.1958 Secret 5/12 File No. 25966 Box 5948 (MNA, Zomba).
169. See L.A.C. Buchanan, (Ag D. of E.) to J.R.N. Chinyama 6/9/1956 C5/1/283 Confidential File SMP 25966 Secret Box 5948 MNA, Zomba).
170. An African M.L.C. in Legco 9-13th July 1956, p. 30059 of the Proceedings. File SMP 25966 Secret Box 5948 (MNA, Zomba).
171. Nyasaland Protectorate: A Plan for Educational Development 1957/61 (Government Printer, Zomba 1957). Hereinafter Nyasaland Protectorate, Plan for Educational Development 1957/61.
172. Nyasaland Protectorate: Capital Development Plan 1957/61. (Government Printer, Zomba 1957).
173. Although Malawi tea exports reached a record high of 17,190, 378 lbs. fetching a record price of 86.25 pence a lb. at the London Auctions in 1955 (see N.A.C.R. 1955 p. 3) the situation of revenue left a poor picture.
174. In 1955, 8 first class and 117 second class **Master Farmers** under the Master Farmer Scheme received bonuses amounting to £2,262. N.A.C.R. 1955, p. 3.
175. Nyas. Prot., Plan for Educational Development 1957/61. p. 1.
176. Federal Education Act, Jan 1st 1957, cited in Leslie Austin Lionel James, "Education in The Rhodesias and Nyasaland 1890-1963" (Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, New York Univ. 1965) p. 173. Hereinafter James, "Education..."

Footnotes to Chapter II (Cont'd)

177. Ed Dep Rep. 1951 p. 26
178. Op. cit. p. 2.
179. N.A.C.R., 1957 p. 7.
180. Plan for Educational Development 1957/61. p. 2. Central Government provision for primary education expenditure was to increase from £403,000 in 1956/57 to £614,000 in 1960/61.
181. Speech by N.D. Kwenje, Proceedings of the meeting of the Legislative Council 1st July 1958 pp 51-52. SMP 33507 File 25966 Secret Box 5948 (MNA, Zomba).
182. See for example Secretary of State to the Officer Administering the Government of Nyasaland, 27th Feb 1958, Priority Telegram No. 92, SMP 28825 Vol II, "Parliamentary Questions of Education matters", Box 5947 (MNA, Zomba), seeking information to reply to John Stonehouse's (M.P.) question on African education in Malawi.
183. The Governor compared 1953 with 1957 figures to demonstrate progress. See Governor, Zomba, to Secretary of State (Telegram) 5.3.58; SMP 28825 Vol II "Parliamentary and Legco Questions on Education Matters", Box 5947 (MNA, Zomba).
184. See L.A. Buchanan to Chief Secretary, 10th April 1958 in reply to Hon N.D. Kwenje's question on 17th March 1958, SMP 28825 Vol II, Box 5947 (MNA, Zomba). Also Provincial Commissioner South, (Watson) to R.G. Hitchcock, Secretariat, 30.4.1958, SMP 28825 Vol II, Box 5947 (MNA, Zomba).
185. Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland: Report on an Economic Survey of Nyasaland 1958-1959 (Also known as the Jack Report) (Salisbury 1959) C Fed 132. Hereinafter Jack Report.
186. Nyasaland Protectorate - Committee of Inquiry into African Education: Report (Government Printer, Zomba) (also known as the Phillips Report). Hereinafter Phillips Report.
187. Chapter 13 of the Jack Report was devoted to education. pp 168-193.
188. Ibid p. 168.
189. See Nankwenya, op. cit. p. 160.

Footnotes to Chapter II (Cont'd)

190. Many Malawians interviewed expressed this view shared by the author. For the general picture by denomination and region: See Appendix I, I.J.A. Nankwenya, "Role of Catholic Missions", p. 160.
191. Jack Report p. 182.
192. Nyasaland Protectorate, Phillips Report. Also Geoffrey Fricker, (copy to Director of Education) 33062/82/211, 15. 9.60 Personal and Confidential SMP 33062 Box 5949 (MNA, Zomba).
193. Ibid p. 1.
194. (Appendix II), "Report by the Chairman of the Working Party Submitted at a meeting of the Standing Committee of the Advisory Committee on African Education on 17th July 1958" File 2/1312/1, "Standing Committee on African Education", Box 4419 (MNA, Zomba).
195. The working party included the Director of Education (Chairman), three white missionaries and two African M.L.C.'s Ibid.
196. See Guy Clutton-Brock, Dawn in Nyasaland (Hodder & Stoughton, London 1959), Clyde Sanger, Central African Emergency (Heinemann, London 1960).
197. See Lord Hailey, "Post-War Changes in Africa", in Central Africa Vol LXXIII No. 873 (Sept 1955) pp 211-213 and in Col. Rev. Vol 9th June 1955. Also Elspeth Huxley, "Africa's Tomorrow", Corona Vol II No 12 Dec 1950 pp 442-445.
198. See condensed address by Drs. A.W. Hoernle and Ellen Hellman, July 1952, The analysis of Social Change and its bearing on education", Col. Rev. Vol 7 Dec 1952 pp 237-240.
199. See Freda H. Gwilliam, "The Challenge of Education in British Overseas territories", African Affairs, Vol 57 No 227 (April 1958) pp 99-107, especially p. 99.
200. See details in Central African Territories: Comparative Survey of Native Policy Cmd 8235) (H.M.S.O., London 1951), especially pp 5-6, 8-9. Also "Native Education in Southern Rhodesia", Col. Rev. Vol 7 (Sept 1952) pp 201-203.
201. D.G. Kangulu, R.N.L. Nkomba, and D.L. Kadzamira, "Memorandum to the Committee of Inquiry into African Education in Nyasaland", Jan 1961, File SMP 3362A Confid., Box 5949 (MNA, Zomba).

Footnotes to Chapter II (Cont'd)

202. Sheikh Edurissa Omar, for Central Body of Islamic Education Committee, Fort Johnston, Jan 1961 on File Ibid.
203. E.B. Magwaya 26 Jan 1961 on File Ibid.
204. M.H. Harris, undated, on File Ibid.
205. Nyasaland National Teachers Association, 16 Jan 1961 on File Ibid.
206. D. Potter, Jan 1961 File Ibid.
207. See Proceedings of the meeting of the Legislative Council, 13th Feb 1958 pp 125-137. SMP 33062, "Commission of Inquiry into African Education", Confidential, Box 5949 (MNA, Zomba).
208. Ibid.
209. The Committee of Inquiry was composed of:
Professor J.F.V. Phillips, former Professor of Agriculture, University College, Ghana (Chairman).
Mr. E.E. Esua, General Secretary of the Nigerian Union of Teachers.
Mr. Norman Larby, lately Deputy Director of Education, Kenya.
Mr. H. St. L. Grenfell of the British South Africa Co.
No Malawian served as a member of the Committee.
Source: File SMP 33062/106 "Committee of Inquiry into African Education", Box 5949 (MNA, Zomba).
210. Malawi Congress Party: Manifesto for the General Election (M.C.P., Limbe 1981) p. 7. Hereinafter M.C.P. Manifesto.
211. Phillips Report p. 12.
212. Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland: Legacy of Progress: Achievements of the Years of Federation 1953-63 (presented to the Federal Assembly on 9th December 1963 by the Prime Minister) C. Fed. 269. See pp 12-17. Also see Helen Kitchen, ed. The Educated African: A Country to Country Survey of Educational Development in Africa (Heinemann, London 1962) pp 218-231. Hereinafter Kitchen, ed. The Educated African...
213. Phillips Report p. 13.

Footnotes to Chapter II (Cont'd)

214. Proportion of Expenditure Devoted to Education 1954-1961

	<u>Total Expenditure</u>	<u>Education Vote</u>	<u>Education as % of Total</u>
	£	£	
1954/55	3,612,264	304,067	8.4
1955/56	4,102,722	346,533	8.4
1956/57	4,949,902	367,633	7.3
1957/58	5,203,586	567,189	10.8
1958/59	4,885,233	651,529	13.3
1959/60	6,484,291	760,104	11.7
*1960/61	6,821,177	918,275	13.4

*Estimated.

Source: Ibid p. 20.

215. Comparative wastage: Assisted and unassisted Junior Primary Schools

		<u>Assisted</u>	<u>Unassisted</u>
Sub-Standard A	1956	28,076	85,779
" " B	1957	23,807*	37,794
Standard I	1958	25,963	9,894
" II	1959	21,236	6,066
" III	1960	21,629	4,135

*Includes children on transfer from unassisted schools.

Overall wastage in assisted schools 23% and in unassisted schools as high as 95%.

Source: Phillips Report p. 59.

216. See Canon Turner, "Educational Problems in Nyasaland", Central Africa Vol LXXI, No 847 (July 1953) p. 190.

217. See Phillips Report Ch VII.

218. Output of Trained Teachers 1956 and 1960

	<u>1956</u>	<u>1960</u>
T2	-	9
T3	39	87
T4	175	364
T5	-	-
	<u>214</u>	<u>460</u>

These figures to cater for the whole country.

Grades of teachers were determined as follows:

T2 - Cambridge School Certificate plus 2 years training

T3 - Standard VIII examination plus 2 years training

T4 - Standard VI examination plus 2 years training

T5 - Less than Standard VI plus 2 years trained. By 1960 this grade was no longer trained.

Footnotes to Chapter II (Cont'd)

219. See Terms of Reference, "Education for Development: Report of the Survey Team on Education in Malawi" (U.S.A.I.D., April 1964). p. 1. Hereinafter Johnson Report. Also see projections in Appendix 2.
220. Ibid p. 4.
221. Ibid p. 37.
222. Ibid
223. Guy Hunter "Education in the New Africa", African Affairs Vol 66, No 263 Apr 1967, p. 128.
224. See "Final Report, Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa, Addis Ababa, May 15-25th 1961", abridged in "Outline of a Plan for African Educational Development", Overseas Quarterly Vol 3 (June 1962) pp 47-49.
225. See Ed Dep Rep 1961 p. 1.
226. See attached Table II, Johnston Report p. 9.

CHAPTER III

SECONDARY EDUCATION FOR AFRICANS

I regard it of the highest importance that some opportunity for secondary education should be provided for Africans in this Protectorate without any further delay, and the Government must find the necessary funds from some source.¹

I am of the opinion that the money earmarked for a secondary school in the Northern Province should be used for the new Teacher Training College...the need for secondary education is not as urgent as the improvement and expansion of primary education.²

The two conflicting views above represent the common pattern of thought among colonial educators not only in primary but also in post-primary education. If senior primary education in itself constituted a measure of threat to European supremacy, secondary education presented even a bigger menace to the existing racial status quo. Therefore, the delay in introducing secondary schools until as late as 1940 when the first one, Blantyre, was opened should be examined against this background which significantly contributed to slow educational progress.

This chapter seeks to examine chronologically the dynamics in the secondary school policy formulation and the underlying politics of conflict. Differences existed between the Missions themselves, and between Missions and the Government regarding the opportuneness, method and direction of African secondary education.

Background to Secondary Education

Secondary education in Malawi raised the most vigorous debate concerning its necessity and control. It was a controversial branch of education, one of the effective ways of creating an elite that would eventually challenge the basis of the existing colonial order.

Although the discussion on secondary education picked up momentum in the late 1930's the topic had been examined as early as 1934³ by the Advisory Committee on Education. In fact, despite the

conservatism of the recommendations of the Phelps-Stokes Commission of 1924, the presence on the Commission of a highly educated African, James Kweggir Aggrey inspired among Malawians the strong conviction about the marvellous impact of post-primary education.⁴ Besides, the Colonial Office 1925 Memorandum on Education Policy in British Tropical Africa touched on the need for secondary or higher education at an appropriate time. The appointment of Levi Mumba to the Advisory Committee on Education in 1933 strengthened the voiced demand of the Native Associations for post-primary education.⁵

The thinking of the time was clear. Generally it was not inopportune as much as economic and social imperatives which militated against secondary education. For all that is known, Livingstonia's Overtoun Institution had always run a literary education clearly post-primary in content and level. And yet it was a Livingstonia Missionary, W.P. Young's motion in 1934, that blocked the suggestion for secondary education.

The economic depression of the early 1930's affected Malawi significantly. Grants-in-aid in Malawi stood at £10,500 for both 1933 and 1934 with no prospect of a further increase of over £500 for 1935.⁶ Capitalist production, sharing the financial hardships, required either uneducated or semi-literate Africans for the labour force on plantations and in industries.⁷

Besides, the situation in Malawi was made worse by the conspicuous absence of more than just one African voice (Mumba's) on the Advisory Committee on Education whose views often drew even the Governor's attention one way or the other. However, notwithstanding the hurdles, secondary education remained an active issue by all means difficult to close. A number of factors played their own individual parts. For example, the Foreign Missions Committee of the Church of Scotland⁸ showed some increasing interest in the development of colonial secondary education. In addition the Colonial Office itself was no exception, as demonstrated by the appointment of the Lord de la Warr Commission to examine Makerere in Uganda in 1937; the Commission conferred with Directors of Education from the region including Malawi. Then there was the new development of meetings among the Directors of Education of Nyasaland, Northern and Southern

Rhodesia (for African education) which considered various aspects of African education including secondary, with Southern Rhodesia often towing the most conservative line but outnumbered by its northern neighbours. The Bell Commission of 1938 into the financial position of Malawi provided a special push for secondary education in the country. But the main issue remained responsibility and control for secondary education. The position was compounded by a degree of divergence of educational control between the English and the Scottish systems which formed the foundation of education in Malawi. In a way, Christian Missions in Malawi eventually showed willingness to compromise on the issue but the extent of State involvement and control remained crucial. Generally Government aimed at cooperation with other educational agencies while reserving to itself "the general direction and supervision of educational policy".⁹ But the urgency of the late 1930's for secondary education forced the State to consider establishing such a school, a potential source of satisfaction to Africans with their continued demand for Government control and running of education. For the moment a sequence of events in the debate leading to the opening of the first African Secondary School in 1941 is necessary for a better understanding of the situation.

Levi Mumba's Memorandum on higher education was rejected by the Advisory Committee on Education.¹⁰ On 11th June 1935 the item on secondary education was first officially tabled before the Protestant Consultative Board of Federated Missions at Nkhoma, the headquarters of the D.R.C.M. The Board, in an official statement, declared elementary primary education as its first duty.¹¹ On its part, Government's resolve to establish a secondary school was demonstrated by the offer from A. Travers Lacey, Director of Education, in 1936 to any single Mission to run a complete secondary course, an idea which the Consultative Board turned down for both its financial and administrative implications. At the request of the Director of Education the Federated Missions submitted to the Director a scheme proposing that Government meet the whole of the

outlay; the Missions would run the school as representing a missionary contribution of 30% towards and below the cost of a school wholly run by Government.

The uncertainty was further complicated by the amalgam^ation proposals of the Central African territories in the 1930's; moves to encourage the idea included collaboration of the territories in African secondary education. In May 1938 the Directors of Education from these countries met in Zomba to consider A. Travers Lacey's proposals for a Central African secondary school, a miscalculation which only provoked the ire of Malawians whose hatred for Rhodesian native policy could not be abated. It was against this background that Lacey submitted to the Advisory Committee, in June 1938,¹² his 'proposals for the establishment in Nyasaland of a Government Secondary School for African Boys', firmly advocating Government control of such an institution. That the scheme headed for a collision course as a weak proposal was only to be expected. Firstly the exclusion of missionary participation proved intolerable. Secondly, the exclusion of girls from the scheme only ran counter to international thinking at a time when secondary education for girls featured in the 1938 Makerere Commission (de la Warr) Report as an inevitable development in any meaningful higher education.

By 1938 the urgent need for secondary education in Malawi received consensus both locally and in the Colonial Office, and at the Church of Scotland headquarters in Edinburgh. But the mechanics still presented a complex situation. Malawi needed a secondary school, but whether a Mission or Government institution continued to constitute the centre of the wrangle. The remark by the Bell Commission, which visited Malawi in 1938 under the chairmanship of Sir Robert Bell, rated secondary education in Malawi as a pressing requirement of economic importance..."¹³ The Colonial Office, in favour of a Government secondary school and influenced by the findings of the Bell Commission, castigated the Malawi educators for delays and ineptitude.¹⁴

But the interim solution suggested by the Colonial Office to consider the use of existing secondary facilities in Uganda and Kenya to expedite the output of Malawians with good secondary education¹⁵ ignored the dangers of a subsequent Malawian diaspora. In fact, in Zimbabwe the churches pressed for local African secondary education to avoid this diaspora.¹⁶ Malawi was no exception.

By August 1938 the contest surrounding secondary education exposed the missionary divisions, with some like the Seventh Day Adventists and the U.M.C.A. failing to support the expressed dominance of Blantyre and Livingstonia with their compromise plan to establish a junior secondary school (standards VI-VIII) each, and leave senior secondary (standards IX-X) in Government hands.¹⁷ Although the two dissenting Missions eventually developed sympathy for the compromise plan which passed through the Federated Missions, the Catholics demanded their own secondary school in Zomba which proved an easy battle as a high financial contribution could be expected from them. One factor for Government insistence on running a senior secondary was to meet a request from Northern Rhodesia where planned junior Mission secondary schools would look to Malawi for the senior forms in a Government secondary school to be sited in Lilongwe.¹⁸ Northern Rhodesia's likely participation was seen as a potential source of financial relief in managing the proposed secondary school. So that by the end of 1938 Blantyre, Livingstonia and the Catholics had been asked to submit, as soon as possible, estimates of capital and recurrent expenditure for 1939 and subsequent years, indicating the levels of required Government grants. The only party unhappy about the arrangement was the Church of Scotland Foreign Missions Committee.¹⁹

On their part, Catholics, through Father Paradis,²⁰ supported the F.M.C. line of thought on one Protestant junior secondary school so long as Government did not resist attempts by the Protestant Missions to introduce senior secondary classes.

The U.M.C.A. maintained a low profile in the African secondary education debate; in general Anglicans demonstrated more enthusiasm

for African secondary education in Zimbabwe than in Malawi.²¹ They were not, therefore, in strong disagreement with the idea of a Government secondary school, so long as a Protestant Chaplain was appointed to the school. As a matter of fact relations between the U.M.C.A. and the other Protestant Missions were often lukewarm because Anglicans were considered spiritually too accommodating,²² second in this regard only to Catholics, as a later debate on a Women's Teachers College clearly demonstrated.

By the end of 1938 F.M.C. favoured the idea of one Protestant junior secondary school at Blantyre under a Board of Governors in addition to any Government senior secondary school. F.M.C. was prepared to take its reasonable share of the responsibilities in staffing and finance. The aim of the Church of Scotland was for a school on the pattern of the Alliance High School in Kenya, with all Protestant Missions in collaboration, and the views of L.B. Greaves had to be solicited by both F.M.C. and Mayhew of the Colonial Office²³ on the situation in Malawi.

1939 witnessed the crystalization of ideas and in May of that year, at the request of the Governor, a Report of the Special Committee of the Federated Board for a joint Mission secondary school included a draft constitution emphasizing the Christian character of the planned institution while also aiming at the cultural development of the local people and preparing "pupils for entrance to further professional training at Makerere and other institutions".²⁴

The Director of Education welcomed the Missionary readiness to mount secondary education but cautioned:

...genuine secondary education depends not only on efficient primary schools, but on the provision of a ladder along which the talented few can proceed at the secondary stage at approximately normal age.²⁵

But the Director left the ladder undefined beyond secondary levels where in fact the ladder was non-existent. The points received echo at the 1940 Conference of Directors in Salisbury (Harare).

...while the reform of primary education is, beyond question,

a pressing necessity and the indispensable foundation of a sound education system, we consider secondary school development to be inextricably interlocked with the improvement of the staffing, curricula and organization of upper primary classes.²⁶

The most depressing aspect to most people was that although Blantyre Mission seemed to have an overriding voice in the secondary education issue its Mission Council's declared policy even at this time emphasized "that its first duty in the education of the people is towards the Christian school in the village",²⁷ a stance incompatible with the higher education debate, especially when even the primary school performance still failed to impress not only A.T. Lacey in 1939²⁸ but also R.H.W. Wisdom, the new Director of Education in 1940 who described the system as almost bordering on the chaotic.²⁹ Besides, the fight by the African members of the Advisory Committee for a Government senior secondary school to be fed by the two junior Mission schools, Blantyre for Protestants and Zomba for Catholics, ended up in frustration as any Government guarantee in that direction was no longer forthcoming.³⁰ The Colonial Office seemed in a state of confusion with the Second World War raging, as it tried to sort out its priorities in colonial affairs.

The Birth of Secondary Schools

Blantyre Secondary School under the Federated Missions opened its doors in September 1940 although formally officiated by the Governor on 30th April 1941, marking the end of protracted negotiations between Government and the Missions. With a Government grant of £4,310 for boarding accommodation for sixty boys, the school came under a Board of Governors.³¹ But the absence of female boarding facilities at a school expected to be co-educational posed a serious challenge to the concept of female education which the colonial scene neglected so badly.³²

The staffing problem of Blantyre almost wrecked the project in its infancy. The Church of Scotland headquarters decided on seconding G.T. Pike, a lay missionary at Livingstonia as the first Principal of Blantyre, a man described later as unexemplary in his dealings with Africans; he eventually, as a result,

generated student strikes, the latest in 1959. Pike was chosen mainly to appease Livingstonia although other Missions saw this as the chauvinism of the Church of Scotland in the Federated Missions. Pike experienced trouble with African staff right from the beginning (in 1943) when his African graduate assistant left and an African graduate from Fort Hare resigned because he was "insulted from left to right".³³ Writing to Canon Grace at Edinburgh House, London, Pike suggested "that the school should be developed by European staff, introducing Africans later, and not, I trust, as a result of Hobson's choice".³⁴

Recruitment of suitable European staff was not easy. However, Pike's appointment was victory for the Missions in their attempt to ensure a 'Christian character' of the school which was poorly demonstrated. Besides, the appointment never helped in abating doctrinal differences which beset recruitment and staffing. In Zambia, the first junior secondary school, Munali, though under a Board of Governors, opened in 1939 as a Government institution.³⁵ In this way Christian doctrine created no problem. The Catholics, however, experienced no doctrinal complications at their Zomba Catholic Secondary School where all teachers had to be Catholic, regardless of nationality.

Zomba Catholic Secondary School took in its first pupils in January, 1942 under a Board of Governors with an approved constitution similar to that of B.S.S., and Father Isherwood of Nguludi Normal School as its first Principal. Both schools used the same syllabuses to ensure uniformity particularly as Government was to be responsible for the setting and administration of the Standard Eight examination. However, one grievance from the Africans remained the thin African representation of only one on the Boards of Governors which were dominated by missionaries. Besides, the enrolment figure of 30 each school per annum fell far short of expectations; but this number only reflected the small number of Standard Six candidates, less than 170 in the few station schools. Furthermore the absence of any female candidates, for quite some time, constituted a sad commentary on a sexist educational

system. But secondary education had at long last been inaugurated, with Makerere College rendering assistance to examine the first few years at the Standard VIII level in conjunction with the Nyasaland Government.³⁶

The arrival in Malawi in 1942 of the dynamic Governor E.C. Richards brought special emphasis on a "full secondary course" in the country.³⁷ Meanwhile provision for bursaries for students to attend Makerere College was made for 1943 when higher education assumed new importance in the Colonial Office thinking regarding new political developments in the colonies.³⁸ On a month's visit to Malawi in 1943 during which he assisted in the preparation of the education section of the Nyasaland Post-War Development Plan, Christopher Cox emphasized on African education to be "primarily directed towards upward rather than outward growth in view of the present weakness in the training of leaders of all types".³⁹ Cox further saw secondary school fees as a negative bottleneck to the admission of many and possible candidates; he suggested abolition of the fees and increased provision of bursaries to Makerere College.⁴⁰ Cox recommended a Government secondary school in the Northern Region, but Governor Richards preferred Lilongwe, while Livingstonia Mission would be allowed to build a fourth secondary school in the North. But implementation of these loud thoughts had, where possible, to wait for many years.

Perhaps the most disturbing commentary of the time was the failure of Blantyre and Zomba Secondary Schools to be filled to capacity as shown by the 1943 enrolment of the two schools together at 44 and yet the capacity was 120.⁴¹ This problem originated from a more fundamental one, the poor primary system which in a way weakened the suggestion for the establishment of a Government secondary school. It was in fact impossible to envisage for B.S.S. and Zomba a full secondary course to matriculation before 1948.⁴² On its part the Colonial Office, with the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund launched in 1940, seemed anxious to promote colonial education. The situation on the spot, however, represented a different set-up and approach.

The Post-War Developments in African Secondary Education

The new Education Ordinance and the new Education Rules passed in 1945 gave Malawians a new air of hope for the enhancement of secondary education. Government seemed interested to see the Five Year Education Plan through, and a party of six Malawian members of the Provincial Councils, led by G.T. Pike, of B.S.S. on a visit to Makerere College in 1945, sought to explore thoroughly the working of this prestigious college in a bid to improve secondary education in Malawi. Besides, such effort was augmented by the establishment by the Governor of a Committee on Secondary Education which held its second meeting on 7th November 1946 to thoroughly examine the various weaknesses in the secondary system, which indeed existed. The strong African demand for a matriculation co-ed Government secondary school represented a vote of non-confidence for the Mission schools to mount matriculation, which often suffered staff shortages. Even if the Mission schools ran matriculation courses a Government institution seemed imperative. The ensuing Report indeed reflected fairly exhaustive inquiries and research, and revealed several areas of the education system requiring rectification to improve secondary education.⁴³

Commissions and African Secondary Education

Details of the Freda Gwilliam-Margaret Read and the Dougall-Ross-Benzies (Church of Scotland) Commissions have received attention elsewhere in this work.⁴⁴ Suffice it to say that both Commissions, insisting on an education for leadership so common in West Africa, poured condemnation on both Missions and Government in Malawi for their conservatism, almost a dislike of African educational advancement.⁴⁵ Dr. Read representing the Colonial Office view expressed the urgency attached by the British people to the promotion of the education of "the backward people for whom we held this trusteeship"⁴⁶ Education for development meant post-primary programmes, especially at secondary levels which still called for improvement and expansion in Malawi. The Church of Scotland headquarters too showed no sympathy at all for the missionary failure.⁴⁷ In fact there was

such panic as the Colonial Office efforts at seeking ways of educational improvements intensified. Malawians, too, through the Nyasaland African Congress, African Provincial Councils and the Advisory Committee proved extremely vocal concerning the need for expanded secondary school facilities. Clearly the secondary education problem in the late 1940's was indeed "a boil which is rapidly coming to a head"⁴⁸ and anything possible to save the situation had to be tried. But the position was extremely confused and the Commissions seemed to share the confusion. For example the disastrous suggestion by the Dougall Commission to combine teacher training and junior secondary up to Standard VIII sounded unworkable. Gwilliam and Read on their part, in recommending a matriculation secondary school, made a controversial suggestion that commercial education, necessary for the Protectorate's development, be the responsibility of one of the two secondary schools, financed entirely by Government.⁴⁹ Zomba Catholic secondary School vehemently resisted any plan to run commercial courses; Blantyre was totally unwilling. The suggestion in fact originated from a very negative economic argument by the two ladies⁵⁰ who found it "difficult to justify in so small a country the running of two matriculation courses (B.S.S. and Zomba) in missionary institutions financed entirely by Government funds".⁵¹ Instead they insisted on one good secondary school and opposed the development of further Standards VII and VIII in other institutions. And yet the country's population was in fact over two million in 1948.

By December 1947 Government, after studying the Reports of the two Commissions and recommendations of the Secondary Education Committee, accepted "the view that there should be one and only one full-range academic secondary school financed by Government, and that that school should be open to all potential matriculants of either sex".⁵² But instead of implementing the idea the Director (Acting) of Education, A.G. Fraser, reopened the debate of which school, B.S.S. or Zomba, would divert functions to include commercial studies, and which one would surrender itself to be run by Government as a full-range academic secondary school.⁵³ These

were impossible options for the Missions and this was clear even at the second meeting of the Planning Committee.⁵⁴ The worst mistake would have been to force the idea on the Missions, considering their contribution to education. In the end the Planning Committee considered the commercial course as more appropriate for a Polytechnic which though appearing in the Post-War Development Plan had in fact not yet taken off the ground and never did. What Government failed to realise was the missionary determination to mount matriculation courses, even just for their own sake. In fact in 1947 Zomba had six students in Standard IX ready for matriculation with a Cambridge School Certificate in 1948,⁵⁵ the year when 7 students at B.S.S. went into Form III (Standard IX). Although two of the four Standard X students at Zomba discontinued their studies, this school witnessed the first two successful candidates in the Cambridge School Certificate examination, John Msonthi and Dyson Chona. This in a way represented a slap into the face of Government.

The arrival in 1948 of D.S. Miller, a dynamic man, to replace R.H.W. Wisdom as Director of Education was opportune. Miller was determined to establish a Government senior secondary school⁵⁶ and recommended a duplicate Standard VIII at Zomba because "the number of Standard VIII products from the two schools is already short of Government requirements".⁵⁷ Blantyre could not get a similar favour for lack of sufficient suitable candidates for Standard VII.⁵⁸ But Miller's plans for B.S.S. included Standard IX for 1949 and Standard X thereafter "to provide a nucleus of students for post-matriculation training".⁵⁹

Miller commanded respect and although some of his plans and recommendations necessitated a revision of the existing Education Ordinance, even the Governor supported him. In fact it was Miller who left the door open for Government assistance at a future date like 1952 to Mission secondary schools embarking on senior classes,⁶⁰ and sympathetically agreed with Archbishop David Mathew's views on this matter.⁶¹

In 1948 the Nyasaland African Congress deputation to London

led by Charles Matinga gave emphasis to secondary and higher education. When Matinga's party was joined by Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda in London for the audience with the Labour Secretary of State, Arthur Creech Jones, the occasion left no doubt in anybody's mind regarding the need for educational improvements in Malawi and the urgency attached to the desired introduction of good Government secondary education; this constituted one of the important factors leading to the establishment of Dedza Secondary School. The issue could no longer be thwarted by the Protectorate Government, even while confronted with the heavy financial demands of a secondary school. It was this time that agreement was reached among the Government, the Advisory Committee on African Education and the Nyasaland African Congress to site the proposed Government senior secondary school at Dedza, to be ready for occupation in 1950.

The settler European unofficial community, in general quite influential in the direction of policy, seemed cautiously rather indifferent. It was safer that way than ^{to} oppose the move at a time when European education in Malawi was receiving unprecedented attention.⁶² In any case time had to come when serious attention was called for on the employment needs of Africans both in the private and public sectors where higher levels of educational attainment were increasingly needed almost in response to the Colonial Office demands to effect economies in the colonies through the education and engagement of colonial subjects.

The Second Five Year (1950-54) Plan and Secondary Education

The Plan was launched against the background of new developments in the financing of education. Although the education subvention was to increase from £110,000 in 1947 to £230,000 in 1954, the entire cost from 1950 to 1954 was to be met from Protectorate funds with the cessation of the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund allocation which had contributed £269,000 for the period 1945-1949.⁶³ The new Plan provided for an estimated recurrent expenditure of £177,390 in the first year rising to £236,000 in the fifth year.⁶⁴ Government was anxious to enforce the levy for primary

education as a source of alleviation on the central budget to allow it to concentrate on higher levels of education. The A.C.E.C. at the Colonial Office offered no serious objections to the Plan designed to boost the primary sector which fed secondary schools.⁶⁵ The planned increase of the senior primary schools from ten in 1948 to fifty by the end of the Five Year period, and teacher training offered some promise. Standard Six candidates would feed not only secondary schools but also medical, teaching, agricultural and other professions. Miller's ideas, supported by the Colonial Office, envisaged an increased flow of matriculants "for necessary training and eventual employment in many of the higher posts at present held by Europeans".⁶⁶ The establishment and inauguration of Dedza Government Secondary School in 1951 demonstrated in a way the determination of Government to go in business.

Dedza African Secondary School

As a Government institution, the only other being Domasi Teacher Training Centre, Dedza started as totally undenominational although the Anglican tradition seemed to prevail. Dedza was mostly staffed by Cambridge and Oxford graduates with a sprinkle from other British universities. Zomba was designed for Catholic boys⁶⁷ only, until 1961, while B.S.S. catered for Protestant boys and girls. The first intake of twenty pupils to open Dedza on 12th February 1951 consisted of a religiously mixed bag. With N.I. Archibald as its first Principal Dedza stood not only as a school for Standards but also as Government commitment into direct running of African education. The superiority of Dedza lay not in its beautiful scenic site at the foot of Dedza Mountain but in the permanence and stability of its staff. Mission schools like Blantyre thrived on seconded Mission staff for a long time, and only in 1950 did the Board of Governors under a new arrangement have permanent employees including Geoffrey Pike, the Principal.⁶⁸ Zomba was no better in staffing, definitely until 1952. In that year Zomba passed on from Montfort Fathers to Marist Brothers, with Brother John Charles arriving in October 1952 to head the school from 1954.⁶⁹

However, enforcement of standards in Mission secondary schools, often with only a skeleton of mediocre staff, proved a difficult matter. Besides Missionary secondary school selection continued to attach importance to church affiliation up to as late as 1961. Religious chauvinism in the post-War period eventually led to a dangerous explosion of junior secondary schools which spread out as follows:

<u>School</u>	<u>Year of Opening</u>
Blantyre (co-ed)	1940
Zomba (Catholic) (Boys)	1942
Malamulo (S.D.A.) (Thyolo) (co-ed)	1948
Mtendere (Catholic) (Dedza) (Boys)	1949
Nkhoma (D.R.C.M.) (Lilongwe) (Boys)	1950
Dedza (Government)	1951
Providence (Catholic) (Girls) in Mulanje	1951

Government was clearly worried about the situation concerning private secondary classes.⁷⁰ Government feared a haphazard development of secondary education which gave no consideration for equitable geographical distribution of such facilities throughout the territory. The idea of Dedza was an attempt to move closer to the Centre and North instead of restricting good secondary education to the South. But Government failure to legislate against some of the proposed secondary schools which endangered the concept of the equitable distribution represented a serious weakness, just as grave as tolerating the denominational element as a dominant feature of some schools which gave an education lacking in quality and prestige.⁷¹

Unlike Dedza, the private Mission secondary schools would only operate as junior institutions using a special syllabus to educate those Malawians earmarked for higher grade teacher training. For this reason, as terminal institutions, with no prospect for senior education, these schools served a negative and frustrating purpose.

Dedza represented a new development as the old and new educational concepts combined academic programmes with carpentry, metalwork, building and commercial courses in an institution five

miles from the noise of Dedza town. Dedza stood for a fountain of hope in the quest for senior education. The Colonial Office seemed to believe in diversification as the answer to the slow progress of secondary education.⁷²

Junior secondary schools raised the question of the real function of secondary education, particularly considering education as the generator of inevitable social change. Missionaries emphasized the religious character of secondary schools and pupils rather than their contribution in the socio-economic development of the country.⁷³

Junior secondary schools featured as a liability to national development. In the first place, with a few exceptions, the limited objective in most of them led to narrow achievement. The lack of a wider choice of subjects, and of more qualified staff presented a problem as the Junior Certificate or Standard Eight examination was expected to be uniform. Missions, conceiving these as their own institutions where religion would predominate, were quite happy for some time without Government funding for fear of interference with their autonomy. But it was precisely this attitude which led to derision of such Mission schools with their emphasis on denominational affiliation at the expense of standards. These schools admitted both qualified and unqualified candidates. The second category, enrolled on production of the requisite fees and denominational affiliation proof, were placed in one class after signing a declaration to join primary teaching after their Junior Certificate (Standard Eight).⁷⁴ But bonding of students proved extremely devastating to exceptionally bright pupils who would have benefitted from a more senior education; this, however, seemed the only way to ensure control over the production of educated Africans, given the prevailing suspicion of such "new men".

The religious chauvinism and prestige characterising junior secondary schools made nonsense of rational planning. For example having failed to get one in 1940 Livingstonia in 1952 wanted its own secondary school in a "Christian environment", with the increasing rumoured Government threat to take over B.S.S. Besides, Livingstonia

just felt lagging behind in the development of secondary education and the absence of a school in the North led to a claimed "brain drain" as most of those trained away never returned to work in the North. Livingstonia's was a case in point of the senseless chauvinism because the idea of educated people returning to work in the North was simply unrealistic, given the absence of job opportunities there as a result of colonial geographical isolation which concentrated active economic life in the South. So that even boys and girls trained at a secondary school in the North would still 'migrate' to pursue employment in the South and, to a small extent, Centre around Lilongwe. The Mission junior secondary school, while detached from primary levels, lacked the necessary academic sophistication and produced potential teachers, ultimately, who believed in the missionary conception of the African. Proper Government control and co-ordination of the private missionary secondary education was clearly crucial, particularly as the uncontrolled fees were sometimes higher than the 'normal' level by over fifty per cent. But junior secondary proliferation defied even a feeble Government declaration to discourage it, the only improvement being that by 1961 the junior secondary course had been brought into similarity with the first two years of the full course, using a common syllabus revised in 1957. But, even with such improvement the denominational character of the junior secondary school remained strong and one of the major weaknesses. By 1960 the Catholics were running eight junior secondary schools,⁷⁵ almost twice the figure of all Protestant schools combined.

The general development of good secondary education as a whole in Malawi from mid 1940's to 1961 represents a story of slow progress marked by misguided planning. As late as 1952 Blantyre could only present 11 candidates and Zomba only 7 for the Cambridge School Certificate for a total population of over three million. Worse still was the performance. In the words of the Director of Education "the results were most disappointing, although only one candidate at Blantyre and two at Zomba failed altogether. At Blantyre no one qualified for Matriculation Exemption and at Zomba

only two did so".⁷⁶ Such a situation led to the dampening of African aspirations, and general support for the junior secondary schools to acquire at least a junior certificate. In fact some of such Malawians enrolled for the South African matriculation while in employment after Standard Eight.

Problems encountered by Malawians in connection with secondary education, apart from age, poverty, family commitments or lack of accommodation, included overseas curricula in African schools; this proved dysfunctional and a hindrance to successful learning owing to their irrelevance to local knowledge and environment. For example the school certificate history course on British Empire and Commonwealth, designed to instil into pupils the marvels and greatness of Britain, alluded to African history only in passing to elucidate the above stated objective. To the Malawian candidate for the Cambridge School Certificate, prior to 1960, Malawi geography was almost totally unknown. The major weakness lay in the use of a common curriculum for the British and Malawian or colonial candidates who generally wrote the same examination often in favour of the British pupil. And yet this examination served as an important determinant for the Malawian's chances for further or university education.

One of the major issues in secondary education in the early 1950's concerned Form Six work. The establishment of the Central African Federation in 1953 greatly affected the post-school certificate African education now to be partly the responsibility of the Federation. The move related to the development of "A" level work in the Federation formed an important matter of wider concern as part of the Federal propaganda exercise. The Federation as a topic has received elaborate treatment elsewhere⁷⁷ and in fact lies outside the central focus of this chapter. But one of the gimmicks to attract Africans to the idea of the Federation involved free circulation of Africans for further education within the Federation on Federal scholarships for higher school certificate, in the case of Malawi which never had facilities until 1958, and university education.

Of all the three territories, Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) possessed the largest number of secondary schools, ten by 1952

with 9 of them Mission.⁷⁸ Malawi had only the three big schools and two junior secondary institutions at that time. It was therefore clear that any idea of introducing Form VI work would exclude the establishment of that class in Malawi for some considerable time to come, thus necessitating a migratory Form VI education for those Malawians aspiring for further education beyond Form IV. Higher school certificate was slow in Malawi because of the difference between Missions and Government in perceiving the need. Around 1950 Mission preoccupation focussed on private junior secondary education as shown earlier.

The Northern Rhodesia Revised Development Plan of 1951 made provision for Sixth Form work at Munali Secondary School Lusaka, although implementation of the Plan took time. Causes for the delay included the uncertainties attending the development of such high level education in a country where formal industrial colour bar took effect in 1937,⁷⁹ and the small numbers of senior secondary pupils.⁸⁰ In Malawi Dedza Government Secondary School would have to wait for six years from 1951 to mount such a course. So a Zambian invitation to join hands with Malawi at Munali warranted serious consideration.⁸¹

The Period of Faltering Expansion, 1957-1961

The period, as shown, was characterised by concerted Government effort to bring to an amicable end the confused missionary approach to secondary education. Factors influencing the Government moves included pressure from the Colonial Office, in response to British Parliamentary inquiries, to streamline the system; and anxiety among Malawian members of the Legislative Council (M.L.C.) demanding improvements and expansion of secondary schools.

When Sir Christopher Cox, Educational Advisor to the Secretary of State for the Colonies visited Malawi in 1955 African representations centred on the need for more grants-in-aid from Government to expand the secondary system, and also for demonstration of active direct participation in secondary education in addition to Dedza.⁸² The Nyasaland African Congress summed up the situation as follows:

...Congress feels that there is a deliberate intention on the part of Government to hold back African education... Government has always been unable to award adequate scholarships for...university training. Educational standards in the secondary schools are extremely low and these should be improved to enable students to compete fairly with other students at university level.⁸³

Africans demanded not only technical training, as some Europeans also did, in addition to secondary education, but also the elevation of the junior secondary institutions to senior status.⁸⁴ The African demands were contested only by the D.R.C.M. who argued against the planned establishment of a Government secondary school in the North, instead proposing a Teacher Training College.⁸⁵ African demands from Nkhoma Mission to Cox reflected the D.R.C. conservatism with no mention of secondary education. It was against this background that Government perceived the need for expansion of senior secondary, to the chagrin of the D.R.C.M., to ease an impending bottleneck.⁸⁶ The situation therefore called for proper redefinition of policy which led to the Government document, A Plan for Educational Development 1957-1961. In the new Plan junior secondary streams would increase to twelve while capital grants were made available for improving accommodation at the three senior schools where the 1950/56 period witnessed an increase of streams from three to four and the enrolment from 134 to 310, with the number passing the Cambridge School Certificate examination rising from 10 to 41.⁸⁷ As a result of rising demand from employers for junior secondary certificate holders, the annual intake capacity into these schools was to rise from two hundred and forty to three hundred and sixty per annum. Perhaps the most welcome news in the Plan regarding senior secondary was the proposal not only to add second streams to B.S.S. and Zomba but to open a Government co-educational institution at Mzuzu in the North and another one in the Centre, probably for girls in response to mounting pressure. Besides, a co-educational Form Six was to be mounted at Dedza although when this was inaugurated no girls ever attended Dedza both for reasons of numbers and the preference for Goromonzi in Zimbabwe, a convenient stepping stone to the University of Rhodesia and Nyasaland which was

opened in 1957. For all these plans the rate of recurrent expenditure on secondary education was to rise from £59,000 in 1956/57 to £163,000 in 1960/61, an increase of 176 per cent. From the surface the document promised a reasonably solid Plan but implementation, particularly in the politically troubled late 1950's and the uncertainty surrounding the source of funds at a time of financial stringency in the mother country, Britain, was a different matter, as spelt out by Governor Geoffrey Colby.⁸⁸ Government hoped that by freezing its financial assistance in primary education now to survive on Native Treasuries, it would take on direct responsibility for "secondary education, teacher training and other central institutions".⁸⁹ Besides Africans suspected that European education, for obvious reasons, got a better deal in financing. The situation worried even British parliamentarians whose questions on the matter received only vague and non-committal answers.⁹⁰

In 1961 out of the seventeen secondary schools only four attained the full school certificate level, the remainder being junior or incomplete secondary schools.⁹¹ This led to insufficiency of candidates for the higher school certificate introduced at Dedza in 1958. But the responsibility was a shared one. Malawian leaders contributed to it through disagreements.

The absence of a united front among influential Malawians particularly the M.L.C.'s often weakened the African demands. It is of course clear that members of the Federal Parliament had by 1958 lost credibility but the territorial M.L.C.'s still wielded some local influence. However, their approach to the demand for secondary education was too district-centred without considering important issues like population density and distance from the next school at a national level. For example when D.W. Chijozi, the M.L.C. from Nkhota Kota, asked for the establishment of a secondary school in his district, the answer, like that concerning Mulanje was, "secondary education is not planned on a district basis".⁹² An earlier similar demand by a Malawian Anglican from Likoma working in Lusaka, for a

secondary school on Likoma Island got a similar negative answer from the Anglican Bishop,⁹³ properly so. The Director of Education suggested the development of secondary education as a "very urgent need" calling for improvement of expatriate staff recruitment "if we are to make any progress at all"⁹⁴ This crisis for teachers led to the error of bringing in British Volunteer Service Overseas cadets to teach in secondary schools for one year prior to getting into university. The situation was desperate and the statistics extremely disturbing.⁹⁵ Secondary school expansion, since 1950, described as spasmodic, had failed to keep pace with the output of senior primary schools.⁹⁶ The 1957/61 Plan had by 1960 failed in a number of its outlined objectives mainly for financial stringency.⁹⁷ Secondary education lagged behind the development of both primary education and primary teacher training. Given the serious handicap of finance, staff and primary school output as the limitations of secondary education, the 1957/61 Plan could not be expected to produce more than about four African graduates in 1966 rising to about thirteen in 1970. This inadequacy prompted the expeditious and economical proposals by Freeman, the Director of Education, adding the necessary classes to existing junior secondary schools to convert them to full secondary schools and by making as many schools as possible double-stream.⁹⁸ The major Government undertaking would be the construction of Lilongwe Girls Full Secondary school for occupation by 1962.⁹⁹ Government approved Freeman's plans with capital and recurrent expenditure at £1½ million to realise a higher enrolment.¹⁰⁰ But even as late as 1960 little attention was paid to African female education, let alone secondary.

The Phillips Report

While Freeman, as Director of Education, struggled to plan for fast expansion of the secondary system the arrival in 1961 of the Phillips Committee on African Education in Nyasaland joined the condemnation of the dilatory approach. It was the Committee's feeling that the existing seventeen secondary schools, thirteen of these junior

schools, should have fast developed three streams for meaningful acceleration of secondary education.¹⁰¹ But of course the fundamental problems which still included planning and general layout of schools, control and management, finance, staffing, size, selection of pupils and the curriculum had to be tackled effectively for expansion of streams to come.¹⁰² In a country with inadequate secondary facilities pupil selection always proved a problem but the Phillips Report's suggestion to adopt general selection principles operational in England which ignored examination results¹⁰³ was just impracticable in an African setting. In general the Report concurred with Freeman's views on the need and method of expansion of the secondary system as a priority to be assisted by the British Government. Phillips stipulated against the opening of new secondary schools but suggested consolidation of existing schools and expansion of junior schools to senior status by 1967 although three streams were ultimately recommended only for Blantyre and Dedza. The new African Government accepted most of the Report's recommendations on Secondary education but succeeded in adhering to the Malawi Congress Party Manifesto¹⁰⁴ pledge to establish at least one day secondary school in each district after 1963.

The story of secondary education, therefore, demonstrates the unwillingness and often ineptitude of colonial education planners to provide for Africans a viable secondary system. This unwillingness and ineptitude accounts for the panic of the late 1950's as a redress of past incompetence and an attempt to meet changing political fortunes. But this is a story of negative colonial planning aimed at upholding the colonial interests and status quo which thrived on the humiliation of the African deprived of secondary education. If secondary education proved so slow to come by, higher education was even slower, the theme of the next chapter. When the first Malawian Minister of Education was sworn in in August 1961 the task he inherited was tough and extremely demanding to rectify in line with African aspirations and development. Such was the colonial legacy in secondary education within a Federal structure.

Footnotes to Chapter III

Secondary Education for Africans

1. The Governor's address at the Ninth Session of the Advisory Committee on Education in Nyasaland, Zomba 21st & 22nd June 1938 (MNA, Zomba).
2. J. Lou Pretorius (Education Secretary) to Miss B. Moore (Provincial Education Officer) 3.12.1954. Gen 108 Box 164 (MNA, Zomba).
3. See Minutes of the 5th Session of the Advisory Committee on Education, 29-30th May 1934 (MNA, Zomba).
4. Oral testimony from Mr. Sakala, the junior primary school teacher of the author relating his meeting with Aggrey at Nkhoma DRC Mission, 1924.
5. See some details in the following Chancellor College History Seminar Papers: J.L. Ng'ombe, "Development of Secondary Education in Malawi", 1971/72; Reginald Dickson Mushani, "The Establishment and Development of Zomba Catholic Secondary School", 1972/73; B. Kampelewera, "A History of Dedza Secondary School, 1951-1967", 1974/75; also Macdonald, "African Education..." p. 452; John W.B. Dickie, "The White City: A Short History of Dedza Secondary School", July 1964 mimeograph, Shepperson Collection, Edinburgh University.
6. Minutes of Advisory Committee on Education 29-30th May 1934.
7. See the picture portrayed in N.A.C.R. 1934.
8. See for example J.W.C. Dougall, "Missionary Education in Kenya and Uganda", p. 17 27.7.36 (mimeograph) ACC 7548, 402B, MS 414-81 (N.L.S., Edinburgh).
9. Cowan, O'Connell, Scanlon, (eds), Education and Nation-Building in Africa, p. 6.
10. Minutes of 5th Session of Advisory Committee on Education 29-30th May 1934 (NMA, Zomba).
11. Galbraith to Kydd (Church of Scotland General Secretary) 29.10.38 ACC 7548 338B 9/4, (N.L.S., Edinburgh).
12. Blantyre Mission Executive Sub-Committee Minute No. 2, 16th Feb 1937 quoted in Richard Paterson to Kydd (Gen. Sec., Church of Scotland) 19.11. 1938 ACC 7548 338B (N.L.S., Edinburgh). p. 6.
13. Colonial Office: Report of the Commission Appointed to Enquire into the Financial Position and Further Development of Nyasaland (H.M.S.O., London 1938) p. 209. Hereinafter Bell Commission.

Footnotes to Chapter III (Cont'd)

14. CO 525/179/44070/1, Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies 56B/39: Comments on Nyasaland Education Department Report, 1938 (P.R.O.).
15. Ibid.
16. Rungano Jonas Zvobgo, "Government and Missionary Policies on African Secondary Education in Southern Rhodesia with Special Reference to the Anglican and Wesleyan Methodist Churches 1934-1971" (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh University 1980) p. 102. hereinafter Zvobgo, "African Secondary Education".
17. See Patterson to Kydd 19.11.1938, p.7. Acc 7548 338B p.7 (N.L.S., Edinburgh). Also CO 525/174/44070/3, "Extract from Draft mins of 88th meeting of the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies" held on 27.10.1938 (P.R.O.).
18. See A.T. Lacey's (Director of Education) "Memorandum on Government's Proposals for the Secondary Education for Africans", Nov 1938, File 47/4 "Advisory Committee on African Education", (MNA, Zomba).
19. See "Statement by Special Committee appointed under F.M.C. Minute 4653 (9) of 18.10.1938", "Secondary Education in Nyasaland" ACC 7548 338B (Blantyre Secondary School 1938-1952) (N.L.S., Edinburgh).
20. CO 525/174/44070/3, "Extract of mins from the Executive Sub-Committee of the Advisory Committee on Education, Zomba, 8-9th November 1938". (P.R.O.).
21. Zvobgo, "African Secondary Education", p. 122.
22. For example see F.M.C. memorandum to Arthur Mayhew of the Colonial Office, 15.12.1938, "Secondary Education in Nyasaland", ACC 7548 338B (N.L.S., Edinburgh).
23. Leslie Newbigin (Edinburgh House) to Miss Brown (F.M.C.), 16.12.1938 ACC 7548 338B (N.L.S., Edinburgh).
24. "Report of the Special Committee..." May 1939 ACC 7548 338B (N.L.S., Edinburgh). The Board of Governors to be composed of 6 missionaries (U.M.C.A., Livingstonia, Blantyre, D.R.C.M., S.D.A., and one from the group of Z.I.M., Nyasa, S.A.G.M., Churches of Christ). No African representation was included.
25. Appendix (of the Director of Education) to Mins of the Advisory Committee Meeting, 22nd August 1939. ACC 7548 338B (N.L.S., Edinburgh).

Footnotes to Chapter III (Cont'd)

26. Mins of the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, 22.5.1941, A.C.E.C. 6B/41 CO 525/190/44070/1.
27. Patterson to Kydd 19.11.1938 ACC 7548 338B (N.L.S., Edinburgh).
28. Memorandum by Mr. A.T. Lacey, Director of Education, for Consideration by the Committee appointed to Enquire into and Report on the Present Systems of Education in the Protectorate, attached to Borrowman to Kydd, 19.5.1939 ACC 7549 338B (N.L.S., Edinburgh).
29. See Mins of the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies (ACEC 6B/41) 22nd May 1941, CO 525/190/44070/1 (PRO).
30. Ed Dep Rep. 1939 p. 8.
31. The Board membership was "six missionary members to represent all the non-Roman Missions, the Director of Education, the Director of Medical Services, the Senior Provincial Commissioner, an unofficial member of the Executive or Legislative Councils, an African to be nominated by the Governor, and the Principal of the School". Ed. Dep. Rep. 1939 p. 8.
32. See chapter on women's education infra.
33. Pike to Dougall, 24.9.1944 covering the 1943 B.S.S. Report ACC 7548 338B, (N.L.S., Edinburgh).
34. Pike to Canon Grace, 27.9.1946, ACC 7548 338B 9/4 (N.L.S., Edinburgh).
35. Mins of the Conference of Directors of Native Education, Salisbury 18-21st October 1941. CO 525/190/44070/3/42 (PRO).
36. In 1942, 9 candidates sat the Standard 8 examination and only five did well.
37. Governor E.C. Richards to Viscount Cranborne, 13.8.1942 Despatch No. 76 CO 525/190/44070/3/43.
38. See Colonel Oliver Stanley, "Political, Educational and Economic Development in the British Colonial Empire", condensed from a speech by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, House of Commons official Report, July 13th 1943, in Col Rev Vol III (Sept 1943) p. 69.
39. Governor's address in the Proceedings of the 59th Session of the Nyasaland Legislative Council, of December 1943 CO 626/23 Nyasaland Sessional Papers No. 23 (PRO).

Footnotes to Chapter III (Cont'd)

40. Ibid
41. P.W. Dev. Rep. Appendix No. 2 Education, p. 41.
42. Ibid, Appendix No. 2 Education p.49.
43. Some basic factual details in Kelvin N. Banda, A Brief History of Education in Malawi (Dzuka Publishing Co. Ltd., Blantyre 1982) Section II pp 83-86. Hereinafter Banda, Education in Malawi. This small book represents very little analysis.
44. See chapters on primary and women's education, supra and infra.
45. Minutes of a Special Meeting of the Advisory Committee on African Education, Zomba, 16th Sep 1947, p.1. CO 525/202/44070/6/47 PRO).
46. Ibid p. 2.
47. See "Some Proposals for the Improvement of Education in Nyasaland" by the Commission of the Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Committee, 30th September 1947. AFR 316, Box 146 (MNA, Zomba).
48. A.G. Fraser (Zomba) to W.E.F. Ward (Colonial Office) 21.12.1947, CO 525/202/47 (PRO).
49. "Comments on Nyasaland Secondary Education Report" Confidential by Freda Gwilliam and Margaret Read to Gwilliam and Read, Report.
50. Gwilliam and Read, op cit.
51. Ibid.
52. See "The Immediate Future of Secondary Education in Nyasaland" by A.G. Fraser, Acting Director of Education 17.12.1947. CO 525/202/44070/7.
53. Ibid.
54. Mins of the Second Meeting of the Planning Committee of the Advisory Committee on African Education, 19.12.1947 CO 525/202/44070/7.
55. Ed Dep Rep, 1947 p. 13.

Footnotes to Chapter III (Cont'd)

56. Mins of the A.C.E.C. Africa Sub-Committee meeting, 28.9.1948. CO 525/203/44070/10 (1949).
57. Director of Education to Acting Chief Secretary, 29.7.1948 Ref No. 418/48/1 AFR 250 "African Sec. Education Policy", Box 142 (MNA, Zomba).
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid.
60. Director of Education (Miller) to Chief Secretary, 20.7.1948 AFR 250 "African Sec. Educ. Policy" Box 142 (MNA, Zomba). Also Acting Chief Secretary to Director of Education, 17.9.1948 Ref Ed. 10 IV, AFR 250 Ibid.
61. David Mathew (Archbishop and Apostolic Delegate) to the Governor 21.4.1948 AFR 250 "African Sec. Educ. Policy", Box 142 (MNA, Zomba).
62. See Isaac C. Lamba, "The Problems of Non-African Education in Colonial Malawi: A Historical Study in Priorities and Dynamics in Policy-making up to 1939", J.S.A.H.S. Vol III/IV/V 1981 pp 1-15.
63. Ed Dep Rep 1948 p. 3.
64. Ed Dep Rep 1949 p. 13. The Plan included a building provision for £75,000.
65. Secretary of State for the Colonies to Officer administering the Government of Nyasaland, 28th Sept 1949, Telegram No. 386. CO 525/203/44070/11/1949 (PRO).
66. Director of Education, "Five Year Educational Plan 1950-54" 29.12.1948, 15th Meeting of the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies (Africa) (48), 4.10.1948. CO 525/202/44070/10 (1949), (PRO).
67. Nankwenya op cit p. 132.
68. See Ed Dep Rep 1950 p. 13.
69. Nankwenya op cit p. 132.
70. Ed Dep Rep 1950 p. 13.
71. Nankwenya, himself a Catholic, has great praise for Catholic education. cf. "Role of Catholic Missions..." passim.

Footnotes to Chapter III (Cont'd)

72. For example see figures for 1950 in Appendix III.
73. See F. Musgrove, "'Bias' in the African Secondary School", Corona Vol IV, No. 8 (Aug 1952) p. 299.
74. Interview with Bictor Chimutu, a former pupil at Robert Blake (Kongwe) Secondary School, 1958-63, 20.1.1983, Zomba. Also interview with Louw, 2nd. Feb 1980.
75. Catholic Junior Secondary Schools by 1960: See Appendix IV.
76. Ed Dep Rep 1952 p. 18.
77. For the details of the Federal experiment see C. Leys and C. Pratt, eds, A New Deal In Central Africa (Heinemann, London 1960). Hereinafter Leys and Pratt, Central Africa; Richard Gray, The Two Nations and numerous other texts like T.R.M. Creighton, The Anatomy of Partnership (London 1960); Closer Union in Central Africa (1951) (H.M.S.O. cmd 841) para. 1: etc.
78. See Zvobgo, "African Secondary Education" p. 152.
79. N.E. Wincott, "Education and Urban Development in Zambia", Gordon W. Smith, Bridglal Pachai, Roger K. Tangri, eds, Malawi Past and Present, (C.L.A.I.M., Blantyre 1971) p. 141 Hereinafter Smith, Pachai, Tangri, eds, Malawi.
80. Wincott, "Education..." in Ibid, p.140. In 1951 only 48 pupils were attending Senior Secondary classes in Zambia.
81. The course was to start with 15 candidates for science and 6 for Arts.
82. Chief Chikowi, Zomba, to Christopher Cox, 7 Jan. 1955; Nyasaland African Congress: "Memorandum Presented to Sir C. W. Cox, Adviser to the Colonial Office on Education...." 9/12/1954. GEN 1018, "Visit of Sir Christopher Cox 1954", Box 164 (MNA, Zomba).
83. Nyasaland African Congress, Ibid.
84. See Provincial Education Officer, Mzuzu, to Director of Education 28 Dec 1954 appending to records of meetings of C.W. Cox with
 - (a) Hon. E.A. Muwamba M.L.C. and Chiefs in Nkhata Bay
 - (b) Chief Katumbi
 - (c) Livingstonia (with both Malawians and Europeans).
85. J. Lou Pretorius to Provincial Education Officer, 3rd. Dec 1954. Gen 1018 Box 164 (MNA, Zomba).

Footnotes to Chapter III (Cont'd)

86. Note of a meeting held in the Committee Room, Secretariat, on 21st June 1956 between Representatives of Government and the Board of Governors of Blantyre Secondary School.
87. Figures from Plan for Educational Development 1957/61, p. 3.
88. Opening address by His Excellency the Governor (Colby), Mins of the Eighth Meeting of the Advisory Committee on African Education, Zomba, 29.10.1952. AFR 424 "African Teachers and Training Policy", Box 148 (MNA, Zomba).
89. Ibid.
90. See for example, Mrs Hardcastle's Parliamentary Questions and the replies. Priority Confidential Savingram, SMP 28825, Vol II, Parliamentary and Legco Questions on Educational Matters", Box 5947.
91. These senior secondary schools were B.S.S., Zomba, Dedza Government and Mzuzu Government.
92. Questions by D.W. Chijozi and M.W.K. Chiume in Legco, 30.6.1960. SMP 28825 Vol II Box 5947 (MNA, Zomba).
93. See S.N. Kayawa to Lord Bishop, 28.9.1954. SMP 14159 Box 4419 (MNA, Zomba).
94. Director of Education to Secretary, Local Government and Social Services, 20th Nov 1959 Ref C5/3/128. SMP 35685 Box 2546 (MNA, Zomba).
95. For example the 1959 Jack Report showed the percentage of the total number of children of school age up to 1957 as follows:
- | | |
|--|---------|
| Children who receive an education to Standard VII- | 0.25 |
| " " " " " " | X- 0.07 |
| " " proceed to university | - 0.014 |
- Jack Report, p. 174.
96. Jack Report, p. 177, Senior Secondary School output was dismal for a total African population of over 3 million. Eg. School Certificate Passes, 1948-57

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. Taking Examination</u>	<u>Passes</u>	<u>% of Passes</u>
1948	2	2	100
1949	-	-	-

Footnotes to Chapter III (Cont'd)

96. (Cont'd).

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. Taking Examination</u>	<u>Passes</u>	<u>% of Passes</u>
1950	10	10	100
1951	-	-	-
1952	18	15	83
1953	17	14	82
1954	33	23	70
1955	51	34	67
1956	61	45	74
1957	72	60	83
1958	?	55	

Jack Report, p. 178. In Zambia 379 pupils passed senior secondary examinations. See Wincott, "Education..." in Smith, Pachai and Tangri eds. Malawi, p. 140.

97. Education Dept Confidential Notice Ref C5/57/8 of 30.5.1960 entitled "Expansion of Secondary Education", SMP 36447 Box 5947 (MNA, Zomba).

98. Ibid. See detailed statistics of cost on pp 2-3.

99. Secretary of Local Government and Social Services to Director of Education 5.4.1960 Confidential. SMP 36447 Box 5947. (MNA, Zomba). Some more details of the expansion proposals in Director of Education to Hon D.W. Chijozi M.L.C, 2nd March 1960, SMP 35685 Box 2546 (MNA, Zomba).

100. Secondary School Enrolment 1960

	<u>Form I</u>	<u>Form II</u>	<u>Form III</u>	<u>Form IV</u>	<u>Lower Sixth</u>	<u>Upper Sixth</u>	<u>Total</u>
Boys	583	448	91	98	14	9	1243
Girls	<u>143</u>	<u>96</u>	<u>13</u>	—	—	—	<u>258</u>
	726	544	104	104	14	9	1501

Phillips Report, p. 37.

101. Ibid.

102. Ibid. pp 63-69

103. Ibid. p. 67

104. Malawi Congress Party Manifesto, p. 7.

CHAPTER IV

Higher Education for Africans

When university education was developed in East and West Africa after the Second World War, the goal of British policy was self government and the universities were designed to contribute to the achievement of that end. In Central Africa, however, the political objective was different; - to steer the African and European inhabitants towards partnership in the recognition that, though outnumbered over 25-1 by the Africans, the Europeans were there in substantial numbers and were intent on permanent residence, at least in Southern Rhodesia. The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland became the constitutional expression of this policy, and the belief grew that the Federation's success might well depend in the long run more on what happened there in higher education than on any other single factor.¹

Higher education for Africans in Malawi, indeed in Central Africa, represented one of the most rigorously controlled colonial developments. As Maxwell says above, the Federation seems to have engendered the idea of higher education more actively mainly not for the benefit of the Africans but as one way of making the Federal experiment work. Higher education will in this chapter denote post-secondary and especially university education. The story introduces a blame shared by the usual three protagonists, including the Protectorate Government, and Colonial Office and the missionary factor. This chapter seeks to demonstrate that the delay in African higher education in Malawi stemmed from a general fear that to develop the Africans to such educational levels was apt to reduce and render vulnerable the myths surrounding the colonial status quo. Although isolated cases of Malawians found their way to seek post-secondary education outside the country, the talk of the Federation from 1949-1951 also included a discussion of the need for such facilities, properly controlled, for Africans within the region. This chapter will therefore give the profile of this education as related to Malawi, delineating the political dynamics of policy.

Background

Higher education is impossible without secondary education. By 1941, when Blantyre Secondary School opened, no senior secondary

school existed in the whole of British Central Africa, despite the concern expressed by the three territorial Directors of Education.² The entrance qualification into South African "native" universities like Fort Hare and Roma in Lesotho was matriculation, between 'O' and 'A' levels, which Malawians did not have. Makerere on its part placed emphasis on its own entrance examination, for some time, prior to its introduction of an 'A' level requirement.

However, before the late 1940's the nearest proposal to higher education in Malawi was perhaps the idea of a Polytechnic in the Post-War Development Plan but even this, as proposed, which failed to take off the ground, was to cater for much lower vocational and technical training. Given the frighteningly poor education atmosphere Governor E.C. Richards proposed in 1941 the inauguration of a bursary scheme for Malawians to attend the Makerere College in East Africa, and this would be possible by giving "special tuition to pupils likely to be able to complete the full secondary course"³ for the possibility of getting university education, ultimately. It was Christopher Cox's repeated conviction that African education should primarily be directed toward upward rather than outward growth although a University College of South Central Africa could be envisaged as a possibility only in the next twenty years. "It did seem (1943) that those three territories with an African population of over 4 million could reasonably look forward to having their own facilities for university education in due course".⁴

This idea of a regional university stemmed from two major factors. On Cox's visit to Zambia Africans expressed strong sentiments against Makerere but pro-South African universities. In addition he also encountered a feeling against Makerere among Nyasa Africans and here again the pull was towards South Africa although the Government was willing to try out Makerere. Central Africans found Makerere too far away. Besides, established as an African institution, Makerere catered mainly for East African tribes with very minimal cultural affinity with Malawians and Zambians. In any case for a long time Malawian and, to a certain degree, Zambian emigration often headed southwards so that South African universities were favoured as a

reflection of migrational patterns. However, to the Colonial Office, the post-war development, including education, made the support of Makerere an economic imperative; and although a Central African university was contemplated in line "with new ideas on regional planning"⁵ the predicted time of twenty years was partly to ensure firmer patronage of Makerere by the Eastern African colonies.⁶ Quite often promotion of colonial interests mattered more than those of the colonial subjects in policy formulation. In fact to press the idea for Makerere, Governor Richards of Malawi thought it might be useful to send twelve "educated natives" and chiefs to Makerere to see how it was run, as a basis for propaganda.

The confusing element about Makerere was that although called a College it in fact ran secondary education as well. For example after two years' work at Blantyre Secondary School candidates could sit the Makerere College entrance examination, and Government scholarships helped such students to and in their studies at Makerere. This system was condemned by Malawians as too slow if as many Malawians as possible were to be educated.

The Colonial Office and Higher Education for Africans in the Post-War Period

The end of the Second World War provoked policy statements from colonial powers of how best to promote the welfare of colonial citizens. As far as British West Africa was concerned, as the opening remark of this chapter has indicated, the policy politically aimed at self-government of these territories which contained a tiny settled European population. The policy towards East and Central Africa which had a considerable size of European settlers aimed at exploitative partnership. But in either case a measure of self-government seemed to be the goal and higher education represented an important factor for any handover of power into African hands. Differences existed from one colony to another, and one colonial power to the other. Thus while examples of an advanced education, a prelude to university training, abounded in British West Africa,⁷ where colleges like Fourah Bay already existed even by the outbreak of World War II, the situation in the Belgian Congo⁸ still called for concerted effort for massive

improvement.

The British colonial policy on education was largely designed to follow Lord Hailey's view that educational programmes must benefit from the wishes of the Africans themselves.⁹ The Colonial Office general conviction allegedly remained the preparation of colonial subjects for eventual self-government with higher education as an important bequest¹⁰ for the production of professionals to meet the challenge of increased social and economic necessities. Urgent need existed to encourage the constructive growth of colonial universities to train local people most economically, while links between colonial institutions and those in the metropolis would ensure standards and recognition of colonial qualifications. It was therefore necessary to expand higher education to meet a pressing need for a gracious divorce of African colonies whose self-government would reduce the economic burden on Britain. The Colonial Office aimed at an honourable transfer of such education to the colonies. But all this complex matter needed thorough study and consultation between the Colonial Office and the African regions, utilizing the opinion of the few enlightened Africans with a fairly high education.

Important post-War developments in the colonial university policy included the appointment of the Asquith Commission¹¹ in 1943 followed in 1946 by the establishment of the Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies¹² as recommended by the Commission. But despite their commendable terms of reference each of the two bodies had its own weaknesses. The Asquith Commission aimed at dealing with all African colonies but the Secretary of State left no doubt in anybody's mind when he pinpointed "one area in particular which does now need detailed investigation, and that is British West Africa"¹³; he subsequently set up, under the chairmanship of Lt. Colonel Elliot, a special "Commission of Inquiry into higher education in British West Africa".¹⁴ The failure of the West African regional climate to attract European settlers enhanced British plans to free their colonies in the area with sufficient haste. Central Africa, with entrenched European interests, presented a different story which retarded higher education, unlike even East

Africa.

In a way, colonial universities served a paradoxical role as imperial expressions took a new cultural form and, as Ashby has suggested, "universities were exported from Britain to tropical Africa on the old assumptions about a social function"¹⁵ with no enthusiastic anticipation of any "academic independence" of the colonial university, contrary to the nature of universities established after independence. It was this export of British educational traditions which preoccupied both the Asquith Commission and, indeed, characterised the operational philosophy of the Inter-University Council (IUC).¹⁶ The two bodies together represented a Colonial Office attempt to come up with some means of ensuring "tolerance" and quality in colonial university education, hence the encouragement of initial partnership with metropolitan universities like London. It is thus possible to see these bodies as the buttressing of weakening colonial relationships in a new form. However, the sincere desire of the Colonial Office to give Africans university institutions cannot be denied. That this was partly based on a need to block any influx of African students to British universities could be correct but such an approach ignores the numerical advantage of the African beneficiaries of a university education obtainable in Africa itself. The British Government could only sponsor a few students to its expensive university education. Besides, London University's agreement to associate itself with colonial universities and, in fact, also award its degrees to external colonial candidates seems to emphasize the post-War policy of metropolitan participation in colonial higher education.

Local Dynamics in Higher Education: 1945-1952

As already mentioned, the development of higher education in Malawi, indeed Central Africa, is mainly a phenomenon of the 1950's and almost synonymous with the Central African Federation. Up until that time Malawian students looked to East and South Africa for that kind of education. In fact as early as 1943 a Malawian, Herman Malama, a Standard VIII student at Zomba Catholic Secondary School,

on passing the Makerere entrance examination, qualified for admission for higher studies at Makerere on Nyasaland Government sponsorship. However, Malawian criticism of Makerere has been noted, and clearly, any real development of higher education in the country would depend not on Makerere, or even the more favoured Roma, Fort Hare and other South African universities, but a regional institution closer to home. Two major problems in this matter included the poor secondary output of matriculants, and the opposition from local Europeans to the pouring of funds into an education that would turn away Africans from peasant agricultural pursuits to seek clerical jobs.¹⁷ While the first point represented some condemnation of the slowness of the system, contrary to the Colonial Office desire, the second view had a more negative aspect against the background of excessive local conservatism fuelled by fear of the ramifications of educating the African beyond semi-literacy and exploitable levels. Such conservatism lacked all the philosophical approach to the matter. Most bursaries for higher education were used by non-Africans to maintain the gap.¹⁸ The foolishness of this conservatism has been aptly expressed in the address by the Director of Education (R.H.W. Wisdom) to the Legco:

This reminds one of the days of Dr. Johnson. When a landowner said that he wished to start a school on his estate but he had been told that it might make people less industrious Dr. Johnson replied: "No, Sir, while learning to read and write is a distinction, the few that have that distinction may be less inclined to work, but when everybody learns to read and write, it is no longer a distinction".¹⁹

Between 1945 and 1952 higher education in Malawi enjoyed a very low profile. While the missionaries' main objective was to produce better educated Africans to staff primary and junior secondary schools and Teacher Training Colleges, Africans wanted to gain a school certificate (Form IV) which to most was "a stepping stone to a scholarship to U.K. or to university education".²⁰ The missionary criticism of the African attitude towards secondary education placed a clear hindrance in the way of African higher education, since official policy often paid considerable attention

to the missionary voice. In the main, missionary desire to control higher education for Africans seems clear from Dougall's critical remarks on the De la Warr Report on Higher Education in East Africa (1937).²¹ In general, missionary fears of African university education were based not only on the distance from home but also the unwelcome potential socio-political effects on Malawians of their mingling with Africans of radical tribal origins in South Africa. It was partly this background which prompted the Government to send the Director of Education and Mr. Alexander Muwamba in advance of a party of Chiefs to visit institutions like the South African Native College of Fort Hare,²² as Malawians could not attend white universities like Witwatersrand except under special circumstances. For most missionaries low education was better than university education which was corruptive to the decent socio-political standing of the upright Malawians.

The Church of Scotland Foreign Missions Committee and Gwilliam-Read Commissions of 1947 both touched on the need for secondary education in Malawi but their observations and recommendations on university education never emphasized degree programmes; instead the stress was on mid-level manpower development through the training of Malawians at the Institute of Education, London University, for undergraduate, almost ungraded, diplomas mainly for responsibilities in the field of education. Thus the wider aspects of university education did not seem to feature as cardinal. The Church of Scotland did not even suggest any scheme for deserving Malawians to be sent to Scottish universities, which, on average, have trained less Malawians than the English universities.

It was in the mid-1950's that missions began to demonstrate an interest in African university graduates of their own respective denominations. But even then only very few Malawians gained access to university institutions and missionary acceptance of Malawian graduates on equal terms with Europeans took time to come by. In general progress in university education proved extremely poor, and as late as 1947 only three Malawians, two at Makerere and one at Jan Hofmeyr School in Johannesburg, were attending higher

education on Government scholarships.²³ The following year, four such scholarships were held, two at Fort Hare, one at Makerere and one at Cape Town.²⁴ Given the problems of finance, distance, food, language, extreme cultural diversity and immigration, the new thinking in Malawi and adjoining British territories strengthened the need for a regional institution of higher learning ,or university.

As late as 1949 there were no post-secondary educational facilities in the whole of Central Africa. The greatest source of concern to Malawians was the scholarship system apparently in favour of Europeans,²⁵ and confining Africans to Native universities like Makerere and Fort Hare to keep them away from the mystical social world of the Europeans only encouraged the African conception of higher education even at university level as a racial undertaking.

Prelude to a Central African University

In 1948 a resolution at the Conference of the three Directors of Education in Central Africa drew attention to the need to establish a Central African Higher College significantly for Africans mainly to draw away from Makerere and Fort Hare. The Central African Council, created as a post-War body to promote consultation among the Governors of the three territories, sounded anxious about this development²⁶ and by February 1949 a Committee on Higher Education for Africans was proposed. However, the project as suggested was vague and faced problems. By 1949 the discussion in fact gradually centred around the creation of a university very much sounding like a European institution. The fact of its proposed location in Salisbury (now Harare), Southern Rhodesia, raised some doubts regarding the full participation of and benefit to the other countries. In fact when the special Committee eventually recommended Zambia for a location, Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia), the strongest of the three partners, later withdrew its support of the scheme in favour of Harare. Rhodesia's idea was for the establishment of a Rhodesian University for whites and the Central African University College for Africans. It was the latter which the Central African

Council was concerned about. In fact the Director of Education in Zomba, (D.S. Miller), sought assurances, before proceeding any further, whether sponsors of the proposed white university in Southern Rhodesia would at any stage be prepared to admit Africans and whether the Portuguese and Belgian Congo Governments would participate in the scheme for Africans. Difference of "native policy" in the three British territories compounded the problem even further. These considerations necessitated further examination by the special Committee. In principle, university education for Central Africans at home had to be encouraged, and no stronger case was advanced for the development of higher education of degree and diploma calibre than that by G.M. Miller,²⁷ Principal of Goromonzi School, who saw the production of African professionals en masse as a necessary shock, although his thoughts focussed mainly on Zimbabwe. On its part Malawi would support any College scheme likely to enhance African university education. For example in 1949 Malawi had only one African graduate, Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda, then practising medicine in London, six students at Fort Hare and one at Makerere.²⁸ Zimbabwe had over 100 students attending higher education institutions in South Africa, including 18 at Fort Hare.²⁹ Malawi would support a University College for Africans in Central Africa which offered courses in Agriculture, Medicine, Engineering and Arts with other faculties added later in response to demand. Zambia supported the university scheme for the same reason as Malawi³⁰ and its satisfaction was immense to be selected for the site of the University at the first meeting of the Committee for Higher Education for Africans, although the proposal never materialised. In the end, with a distinction drawn between the two university institutions, the Southern Rhodesian view favoured university diplomas rather than degrees, at least initially, for Africans. In fact in principle Africans joining the African College would pay their own fees, already an impossible hurdle for Malawians.

The minutes of the first meeting of the Committee for Higher Education for Africans attracted a variety of comments from the Standing Committee of the Advisory Committee on African Education

at its meeting on 1st July 1949. While clearly rejecting any suggestion for the siting of the African College in Southern Rhodesia, the Advisory Committee's ensuing debate on the rival claims of Zambia and Malawi for location ended up with the statement:

In the end all members agreed that in their opinion the case for establishing the first Central African University College in Northern Rhodesia was too strong to be denied, but they considered that it was essential that African opinion should first be consulted and that no final decision, in favour of siting the College in Northern Rhodesia, should be taken until African opinion was sounded.³¹

This was the first emphasis on African opinion and Malawi was unequivocal in favour of degrees for bright students.

The voice of Malawi's representatives on those discussions often proved refreshingly disconcerting to the rest. Delegates from Malawi who included the Director of Education and a critically-minded missionary, Rev. Andrew Doig, are in fact the group that discerned benefit to such deliberations from an African opinion, something almost impossible in Southern Rhodesia. In this spirit of consultation, Doig's meeting with the Nyasaland African Congress revealed the philosophy of the higher education desired by Malawians. The Malawian view was as follows:

The Higher Institution should be that which is going to give an African more chances to become a complete Scotchman (sic) or an Englishman (a complete educated man) save his black skin... The Institution should be scheduled for all races in British Central Africa except on medical grounds in African climatic conditions that some whitemen's (sic) children shall be required to go to Britain direct.³²

Africans were extremely cynical of anything created specifically for "Africans". An African University College, just like Makerere and Fort Hare, served as the best example of segregation and racism in operation. In their minds, degrees in an African university lacked in content and prestige and failed to compare favourably with those from racially mixed or wholly white universities. Congress interpreted the proposed African university as the entrenchment of

racialism and colour-bar at a time of much needed racial harmony pronounced quite often in the Colonial Office in connection with its Federation plan for Central Africa. The N.A.C. condemned Makerere "not only because it had not yet reached the stage of providing degrees to the students, but because it was declared a College for Africans in British East Africa and in fact European, Indian and Coloured's children do not go there but are sent to the Southern Institutions...To speak frankly the Africans wish all what (sic) is called a European education".³³ The feeling simply echoed in part a memorandum to Governor Edmund Richards in 1945 in which Congress emphasized clearly its dislike of sending "our boys to Makerere because the standard of education attained is lower than that attained in South African Schools..."³⁴ This representation formed a fundamental issue concerning the form of a Central African University acceptable to the Africans particularly of Malawi. Africans were desperate for university education and a good number found their way to study in South Africa. But the principle of racial integration and equal opportunity could not operate if a black Central African university co-existed with a white one. Africans strove for genuinely cordial race relations. The African was inferior "not because he is a black person (at least in Malawi) but that his understanding of the universal world affairs is very little and limited. This relationship (cordial) will be strengthened by way of studying together.... If studies in Britain are attended by mixed races, is there any reason why such procedure cannot be started in the Institution under discussion?"³⁵

The situation was complicated, and the constitutional arrangements of the three countries determined their conception of the African's role and educational needs. For example, while the northern Protectorates saw a larger share of responsibilities potentially in African hands, the minority Responsible Government of Southern Rhodesia perceived its survival in repression and deprivation of the African majority and anything designed to create a second class citizen was suitable for the Africans, contrary to the declared British policy by the Colonial Secretary, which was

designed "to do away with discrimination".³⁶ To Malawians this declaration before a racially mixed audience in Blantyre brought some air of relief and hope "because in Nyasaland colour discrimination has been introduced by way of education in that the Whiteman, the Indian, the Blackman and the Coloured have been given education separately".³⁷

The preparatory meetings and discussions of the Central African University College for Africans proved lengthy and complicated by the social, physical and geographical considerations. The second meeting of the Committee on Higher Education for Africans on 9th August 1949 did help to find solutions to highlighted complexities. Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders and Dr. Walter Adams of the Inter-University Council were in attendance by invitation. Some of the major issues concerned the insistence of potential donors like Sir Alfred Beit on a European University sited in Southern Rhodesia, thus making an African university peripheral. In principle, then, two universities were to be established.³⁸ The talk at this point was extremely perturbing to Malawians. One useful contribution from Carr-Saunders and Adams for the African University was the suggestion, in the absence of 'A' level education in Central Africa, for entrants to the College to begin with two years of higher general studies with a view to specialization in arts and science-related subjects. An examination at the end of the two years would lead to an award of a "Higher Studies Certificate". This stage would serve to identify those to proceed to a third year for a diploma in any field or a fourth year for a degree - except in medicine, which would necessitate special arrangements with older universities elsewhere with medical schools to handle the remainder of the training. African women students would be included in the College designed to cater for 600 students as a final complement.³⁹ However, according to Malawians, the major issue for resolution remained the racial aspect of such a College whose designation as a black institution was unacceptable. The exclusion of the Indian factor represented a potentially explosive area. These were some of the problems which led to the establishment of a Commission for a fuller study of the situation.⁴⁰

With the parallel Rhodesia University project still a lively matter, the problem of a non-racial university education remained a complex challenge for the Commission appointed to make final proposals for the establishment of a College.⁴¹ Rhodesians were anxious to promote credibility of their racially-inspired approach to the issue of higher education, hence the international composition of the Commission. The position had gained new urgency with the announcement by the South African Government to bar entry to extra-territorial African students to South African educational institutions as from 1951, although an extension for three years was ultimately negotiated for the ban to take effect in 1953.⁴² This development in South Africa obviously worked to a great disadvantage of Malawians who, however, still failed to consider the African College as acceptable, as a matter of principle. But the issue of an African College in Central Africa proved so dicey that the original recommendations were rejected by the Southern Rhodesian Government until 1951 when it requested the reopening of the matter.⁴³

The main factor in resurrecting the issue in 1951 was the South African ban on African students from outside as from 1953, although the old aspects already cited were still important. The ensuing panic affected Zimbabwe more, with the largest number of African students in South Africa. But Malawi too welcomed the Zimbabwean initiative, so long as a reconstituted Committee for the purpose included representatives from the High Commission Territories equally affected by the South African decision and, therefore, potential users of a Central African University.⁴⁴ Besides, Malawi insisted on treating the question of university education as a whole in Central Africa and strongly recommended that the sponsors of the proposed white Southern Rhodesian University send a representative to the new Committee. The official Malawian view avoided discarding Makerere, but a Central African College would increase the bargaining power with Makerere concerning attendance of Central African students to that institution. However, Malawi's proposals to the new Committee seemed tough and directly at variance with the Rhodesian ethos

although Malawi was prepared to participate and contribute towards the recurrent expenditure on pro rata basis at £300 per annum per student; the Government of Nyasaland, with the pushing of financial responsibility for primary education increasingly to Local Education Authorities, would be able to concentrate on higher education, and generally speaking, a Central African College would be more preferable to Makerere.⁴⁵

The Road to a Central African University: Its Politics from 1951

By 1951 British parliamentarians too demonstrated interest in African higher education in Central Africa, particularly after the first meeting of the new Committee convened on 2nd May 1951. At that meeting the burning issue focussed on racism which regulated the thinking and proposal of the two racially segregated universities in Salisbury. The siting of the two institutions followed the stipulations of the 1931 Rhodesian Land Apportionment Act which precluded any possibility of African students enrolling and residing at the Southern Rhodesian University at white Mount Pleasant, 10 miles from the proposed African College campus at Highfield Native Village Settlement area, west of Salisbury. Interestingly enough, even the Malawi delegation almost agreed with the arrangement only so long as "a close measure of association with the Southern Rhodesian University would be forthcoming"⁴⁶ a stand tantamount to betrayal of African interests in Malawi. The issue of a single institution was still far from acceptable to white Rhodesians. In fact the representatives from the Rhodesia University Association, L.M.N. Hodson and Dr. Dighton Stammers, ruled out at the meeting any possibility of such a joint institution except possible sharing of certain lecturers. African students would have to be kept out of the Rhodesia University because if it "opened its doors to all races at the outset, there would seem to be a very real danger that the Africans might outnumber the Europeans, and thus defeat the purpose of building up a centre of western culture and learning."⁴⁷

While the point of a European-oriented institution was an outcry of Malawians, Mr. Miller and the Rev. Bernard from Malawi finally

described the whole plan of two institutions as unworkable. "Mr. Bernard did not think that first class lecturers from the United Kingdom would be willing to spend their time duplicating lectures in two institutions at some considerable distance apart".⁴⁸ In fact, to Bernard, if the so-called link of the two institutions was so loose, the best alternative was to site the African College either in Lusaka or in Bulawayo to preclude any association. At the end of the day the ultimate site of the African College, implicit acceptance of the creation of a separate white university, was left for a freshly proposed Commission to decide.

Meanwhile in the British Parliamentary debate⁴⁹ on African higher education on 7th December 1951 members like James Johnson insisted on the need for local multi-racial universities in Africa to educate more Africans than their present trickle to western universities. African women desperately needed higher education as well.⁵⁰ However, the dominant feature of the debate seemed the ignorance among members of the real African situation. Not even Lennox-Boyd, the Colonial Secretary, who identified higher education as an important argument for closer association or Federation, knew the detailed implications of the Rhodesia University Association whose existence he applauded, contrary to the declared Federal spirit of racial partnership.⁵¹ Lennox-Boyd was aware of a Bill to pass through the Rhodesian Parliament to set up a University Board but the actual dangers of that development did not seem clear. Yet the Federal scheme was to be sold to Africans on the platform of racial partnership. What is important, however, was not the confused knowledge of Central Africa in the British Parliament but the resolve on the local scene to set up the Commission for higher education which would seek a general mandate and work out the details of the university.

Commission for Higher Education in Central Africa

A Commission of this nature was first proposed in 1949 although it failed to actually constitute,⁵² until the revival of the idea in 1951. For the sake of credibility and international acceptability,

membership of the Commission would exclude anybody from racist South Africa; and the Inter-University Council, at this time, the most powerful body in London in colonial higher education was to suggest suitable names of potential commissioners. This was one way of ensuring African acceptance of what came to be generally known as the Carr-Saunders Commission which visited Central Africa in 1952.⁵³

The Commission embarked on its work bearing in mind a number of things. For example the factors against the acceptability of the 1949 Report; the "native" policies of the three territories and the population figures and composition in each one;⁵⁴ the Federal plans with the enunciated policy of racial partnership without the use of colour as a test of a man's ability and culture.

The differences of native policies in the three territories complicated the concept of partnership even in education. The Colonial Office sometimes failed to give recognition to the constitutional uniqueness of Southern Rhodesia in reference to Central Africa. "What we want is a partnership between all who have made their homes in these territories"...⁵⁵ Following this, the Secretary of State for the Colonies issued a statement in the House of Commons:

our policy is to help the Africans politically, socially and economically so that they can play their full part in the central government and in the local administration of their territories. It is also clear that the immigrant communities, some of whose families have lived there, (Central Africa), for generations, must now be regarded as belonging to those territories.⁵⁶

The declared policy in Southern Rhodesia professed to run along similar lines. But it could only be a confession unsupported by action. The Carr-Saunders' Commission faced this difficult situation of contradictions in policies which would determine the number and nature of any universities to be established.

The Commission visited the three territories. The representations from various quarters, including Africans, demonstrated conflict of purpose and understanding. For example, the memorandum from the President-General of the Nyasaland African Medical Organization⁵⁷ simply revealed a total misunderstanding of the tempo of the time. While expressing anti-Makerere views, the Organization was bought over to the idea of an African College which was vehemently

rejected by the Nyasaland National Teachers' Association, Southern Province.⁵⁸ Of all the memoranda to the Commission, the latter represented the most radical voice in tune with the thinking of Congress. Sticking to the newly-enunciated term of "racial partnership" as the ideal of the now-inevitable Federal Scheme, the Association rejected an "African" University College, in preference for "a place where white and black, Indian and Coloured would learn how to get on well together..., where students would be accepted not on the basis of their colour but on academic basis. Equality, freedom and fraternity could as well be adopted in setting up a high place of learning in this multi-racial society".⁵⁹ The suggested courses appropriate for the development of the territories included general arts and science, agriculture, commerce, economics, engineering, medicine on the London University model, while teachers' needs would be catered for by an Institute of Education or a Department of Education. But although most Europeans in Malawi saw these suggestions as appropriately in accord with the native policy in the country, such suggestions cut accross the conviction of Southern Rhodesian whites.

However, white opposition to a multi-racial university constituted only one, though major, problem, for several others existed in the whole decor of university education. One handicap was the absence of 'A' level secondary education alluded to earlier. In 1951 Makerere 's raising of entry requirements to ^{higher} levels excluded most Central Africans from that institution. This should not, however, create the impression that many African students attended university prior to 1951. Numbers depended on passes in the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate examinations which still revealed a pathetic prevailing situation.⁶⁰ Of the three territories Malawi was the most densely populated but with the smallest number of possible candidates for university after school certificate. The situation was clearly reflected in the 1949 general statistics of Africans obtaining higher education as follows: Northern Rhodesia 31, Malawi 13, and Southern Rhodesia 13.⁶¹ The low figure for Southern Rhodesia was to be expected in an environment with vigorous control of African education, but the one for Malawi simply represented a

poor and unprogressive profile. Given the school certificate results, the formula for distribution of places would present for Malawi a hurdle in the event of an African College ultimately being recommended.

The other problem was employment opportunities for university graduates, an important factor in any rational planning. In Southern Rhodesia most skilled and high level jobs formed a European monopoly in accordance with the 1945 Industrial Conciliation Act. Only teaching in secondary schools or training colleges was open to university-educated Africans. But the situation was soon to include doctors, engineers, agriculturalists etc. who were required to serve in segregated African areas. Generally, in all the three territories, teaching would form the preponderant occupation for African graduates. And despite the pronounced liberalism of the territories north of the Zambesi, Northern Rhodesian employment policy was not too different from that of her southern namesake. In Malawi a definite policy did not seem to exist, and utilization of African graduates became an issue of significant magnitude only in the late 1950's, as will be shown later. In general the African graduate was not the most desired person in a colonial milieu. In fact, the Carr-Saunders Commission got from heads of government departments and others in high controlling positions answers related to employment of college trained Africans, which "were often imprecise, tentative and hypothetical",⁶² almost deliberately so. Europeans were "not enthusiastic about coping with multitudes of African graduates, who might cause them difficulties and eventually claim their jobs".⁶³

The final problem for the Commission was staffing of a colonial university. While a special relationship might be forged with London University, the willingness of qualified teaching staff to come out from London would depend not just on pay but also the assured prestige of colonial institutions insistent on high academic standards which would eventually serve as a guarantee for the African institution's autonomy in awarding degrees upon the British model. A Royal Charter would enhance the credibility and prestige of the Institution.⁶⁴

The Carr-Saunders Commission expressed strong feeling for a

university college in Central Africa whose population figure exceeded even that of the West Indies, and roughly similar to that of the Gold Coast and the Sudan, places where university colleges thrived. Besides, available figures, though confined to the African section, showed a good prospect of adequate student numbers to justify the foundation of a university college. But while supporting Salisbury as the site for the university college, the Commission's rejection of two institutions racially segregated was like a bombshell to the Rhodesia University Association with its 1952 Charter granted by the Rhodesian Parliament. The Report concluded :

It is contrary to university tradition to have regard to race, religion or class when selecting candidates for admission.... University students share lecture rooms, laboratories and libraries... a university is a society and not merely a place of instruction...⁶⁵

With these remarks the establishment of a Central African University College, and not an African College or two racially separated colleges, was strongly recommended as the first step towards a full university in Central Africa; the only voice of dissent on the Commission came from Alexander Kerr who stuck to the original idea of an African university college.

Needless to mention the pleasure of Africans at the Report which seemed to delineate their wish, the wish of the most. But most of the Africans failed initially to detect a loophole of racism for subsequent use in the suggestion of reserving "certain hostels or halls of residence for particular classes of students".⁶⁶ The Commission seemed full of optimism about the university's success. The Commission's use of the term "class" later assumed the meaning of "race" as will be shown. But the Report which finally led to the foundation of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, affiliated to London University, in the Federal era dashed the dreams of an exclusively white University of Rhodesia.

The Federation, the University and Malawi

The multi-racial University College in Salisbury was officially inaugurated in 1957 with a Royal Charter granted in 1955 to serve

primarily Central Africa, and the British Queen Mother as its President. Several years elapsed from the 1952-Carr-Saunders's Report to the actual opening of the University College. But these intervening years were marked by enormous activity by Governments, collectively and individually, to work out details which deserve some discussion.

By 1952 the idea of a Central African Federation seemed to permeate most colonial schemes in Central Africa. So that notwithstanding Carr-Saunders' denial in a meeting of all races in Blantyre in 1952,⁶⁷ the University could not be dissociated from the Federal Scheme; his argument was historically based on the initial discussions of the University dating as far back as 1949. The vehement African opposition to Federation in Malawi led to the European belief in incentives to lure the people into accepting the Federation, and higher education was to serve as a useful gimmick. Higher education which became a Federal responsibility, served as a midwife of the Federation. And although the declared compromise of safeguarding African interests was allegedly ensured through the colonial officials serving in territorial Governments which controlled African affairs, the Federal structure in fact stood as the symbol of European interests, defeating the long time belaboured policy of the paramountcy of African interests.

The Federal Government's responsibilities, according to the draft Federal Scheme of 1952, included primary and secondary education levels for non-Africans, logically so, and higher education for all races. In effect, this involved balancing carefully white and African higher education to maintain the right equilibrium and status quo and avert continued use by whites of segregated educational facilities in South Africa likely to make the planned University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (U.C.R.N.) a white elephant.

The major problem for Nyasaland Africans was the territorial Government's poor control of higher education. When a Malawian implored the Secretary of State, on the latter's tour of the country in 1952, to take up the matter with the Governor, the Malawian was silenced by the territorial Government officials,⁶⁸ although the

Secretary of State did ultimately and inevitably acknowledge the need for more scholarships for Africans⁶⁹ when the Government had in fact earmarked £50,000 for the introduction of a propaganda vernacular newspaper, Msimbi, at a time of much needed educational finance. As the statistics have already shown, the small numbers of Malawians acquiring higher education could not escape the disturbed notice of eminent scholars like Margery Perham of Oxford University who failed to understand the absence of Malawians among the African students at Nuffield College.⁷⁰

However, white disenchantment with multi-racialism was immense, and ideas of sabotaging the move for a non-racial university were already surfacing by July 1954 with the new Federal proposal for a higher college for Africans only, to avoid loss of European goodwill especially in Southern Rhodesia. The problem with the Federal structure was the occasional imposition of ideas from the Federal Offices in Salisbury onto the Protectorate Governments, and although the University idea enshrined the Federation ideal of racial partnership, a racial institution was still seen as necessary to emphasize the irreconcilable differences of whites and Africans. When the new proposal for an African College for Higher Education was put forward in 1954 the dominant Southern Rhodesia considered it an urgent task with the tentative details quickly worked out by the Rhodesian Director of African Education. A university was too elitist for Africans who in fact needed diplomas in vocational training below university degree level.⁷¹ Malawi, although for a time proposing such an institution to be developed under the aegis of the University College, agreed with the other two territories on the need for such an African institution of non-degree status.⁷²

The proposal did not go unchallenged not only by Africans as a delaying tactic but also departments like Health in Malawi whose training needs, especially doctors, could only be met by a university.⁷³ The development created embarrassment in the Colonial Office with its emphasis on racial partnership which U.C.R.N. was to promote. It only demonstrated the difference between the Colonial Office and officers on the spot in the perception and interpretation of colonial issues. As a Federal project, the racial nature of the African

college was inimical to the spirit of partnership. Furthermore the Colonial Office reservations were also based on the fear of creating a large African College which might "become, like Fort Hare, a breeding ground for embittered African feeling",⁷⁴ particularly given the strong African opposition to the Federation which in Malawi entailed mini-uprisings in 1953.⁷⁵ In any case if the Colonial Office was to support the project with C.D. and W. Funds African opinion and support, a crucial factor, had to be sought.

In Malawi the matter of an African College, according to the Secretary for African Affairs, led to uneasiness because any suspicious diploma courses would lead the African to think that "we are trying to withhold a degree from him and thus keep him at a level rather below the European in technical and professional fields".⁷⁶ The success of the university project should first be gauged for a few years before embarking on a Federal project of the suggested nature. In fact the Chief Secretary of Nyasaland favoured teacher training within the territory as politically desirable,⁷⁷ and Domasi T.T.C. was already training teachers with a School Certificate, a suggestion supported by Morgan of the Colonial Office.⁷⁸ The views of the Nyasaland Government, negative as they might have sounded to Rhodesia, were communicated to the Federal Secretary with the additional proviso of Malawi's inability to contribute "towards the recurrent costs of this Federal responsibility....."⁷⁹ aimed at Federal prestige on territorial expenses. Malawi needed a multi-racial and multi-denominational university of sufficient credibility to command international respect in line with the goal of the I.U.C.⁸⁰ Thus the new idea of an African College failed to materialise.

The University College of Rhodesia described as "the most difficult task yet faced in the creation of new universities"⁸¹ opened its doors ultimately in March 1957 mostly to erect the necessary buildings. It ushered in an era of hope for many but hopelessness in higher education for Africans, especially for Malawians because although a good job had been accomplished in

removing most obstacles, fundamental bottlenecks remained in the way of African higher education. The dream of Federal partnership was still to be demonstrated in reality through a real "multi-racial" university. For perspective the various obstacles sorted out need to be reiterated briefly even at the expense of repetition.

The problems finally solved included entrance qualifications, siting of the university, residential arrangements vis-a-vis the concept of university apartheid and financing. But all these factors revolved around the racial imperative which permeated the thinking of white Rhodesians right from the beginning in 1943 when J.F. Kapnek offered £20,000 for the establishment of a university in Southern Rhodesia. The move ended in a fiasco. Although the Carr Saunders Report ultimately led to compromises, the fundamental issues received only partial solutions pronounced when the U.C.R.N. became operational from March 1957 with Dr. Walter Adams as its first Principal.

The siting of the multi-racial University College in a white residential area at Mount Pleasant seemed a good gesture in the name of racial integration. However, this represented the best way of ensuring liberty to white students and bondage to Africans on this island of so-called liberalism. The Carr Saunders' Report in fact never came out openly in support of racially-mixed hostels, given differences of the social customs and background of Africans and Europeans which could not be ignored without wrecking the project until African students had "reached a responsible maturity and a high intellectual level".⁸² This obviously worked against Africans with remote chances of attaining such requirements prior to their university career.

The Royal Charter stressed the multi-racialism of the university, but theory proved different from practice. The brutal nature of residential segregation was demonstrated in 1957 when Sarah Chavunduka, the first Malawian woman to attend U.C.R.N. was refused accommodation in the white girls hostel; the authorities found a convenient solution in giving her a room in an African male hostel in Carr-Saunders Hall instead of the female Swinton Hall. It took a heated debate for Chavunduka to get into Swinton Hall

in the second term.⁸³ The numerical evidence of the racial composition of the student body in fact almost confirmed that for many years to come U.C.R.N. would operate as a predominantly European institution.⁸⁴

The prospect of a multi-racial university in Central Africa was greeted with euphoria in many quarters, not the least among Africans. But the requirement of a Cambridge Higher School Certificate hit Malawi, with no institution of her own for such levels, like a bombshell. In 1957 Malawi could offer only two candidates to the U.C.R.N.⁸⁵ Although the situation had been anticipated from as early as 1953 no higher school certificate, as indicated in the last chapter, was inaugurated in Malawi until 1958 at Dedza Secondary School. Correspondence between the Directors of Education of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia in 1953 explored possible collaboration in Form Six work at Munali in Lusaka.⁸⁶ But Munali, however, could only take 5 Malawian students on its Form VI programme. Goromonzi Secondary School in Southern Rhodesia also agreed to take 5 students from Malawi⁸⁷ with 6 Cambridge School Certificate credits in the "right" subjects. Two factors compounded the situation: the South African ban on non-white foreign students in 1953 and the absence in the Federal Government of a definite policy to demonstrate its live interest in African higher education.⁸⁸

A fresh problem arose and, for some time, it seemed Malawian arts students might not even gain entrance to the U.C.R.N. as a result of the University's insistence on Latin for entry into the Arts Faculty. In fact both Malawi and Northern Rhodesia were affected and failed to see how Latin could be introduced in 1954 and expect arts students to join U.C.R.N. in 1957 with the required equivalent minimum of 4 years of the subject. Malawi's hope to run a Latin course in Forms 3 and 4 and expect the required minimum to be completed at Goromonzi, was rejected by that school.⁸⁹ The situation turned more favourable for science than for arts. The figure of 10 students a year involved ^{as} ~~were~~ of course exasperatingly small for a country like Malawi with the largest population in the three territories. Although the Government

policy always emphasized willingness and anxiety to send any deserving African student away to a proper institution, the inadequacy of Government scholarships and bursaries for these students was a limiting factor on numbers.

In the field of African higher education awarding of bursaries and scholarships formed a complicated task often subject to suspicion and open complaints, and a more effective and suitable formula for this exercise proved hard to devise. Bursaries and scholarships were varied and included awards by C.D. and W.F., territorial and Federal Governments, external Governments and, occasionally, generous individuals through their respective Governments. The politics in the distribution of the scholarships to all races created an environment of ill-feeling between the races, in some cases out of sheer misunderstanding.

Prior to 1953 Scholarships and Bursaries Boards in Malawi operated independently for their respective duties. While the former dealt with mainly higher education, the latter's area was secondary education. Just before 1953 a merger of the two bodies took place for proper coordination of financial assistance of these forms. But the new Board, although satisfactory in its handling of bursary applications, encountered problems in dealing with scholarships where some of the applicants were children of the unofficial members to whom objectivity was difficult, if not impossible, in making the awards. Given the small number of scholarships available, Africans stood a very slim chance. European university scholarship awards, particularly, raised suspicion among Africans and Asians. The new suggestion in 1953 therefore was for two Boards, one for unofficials to handle bursaries, and the second for officials only to deal with scholarships.⁹⁰ The main problem was the lack of guidelines in scholarship awards and the acting Director of Education held the view in support of one Scholarships and Bursaries Board to avoid antagonizing the unofficial members, so long as guidelines were issued.⁹¹ The Governor's response was to urge preparation of such rules to include provision "relating to the means of parents,

length of residence of parents in Nyasaland, annual reports of candidates and any other appropriate consideration".⁹²

The composition of the new Board was criticised, more by Africans⁹³ but also by the non-African Convention of Associations of Nyasaland which proposed inclusion on the Board's membership of the general 'public',⁹⁴ to enhance credibility. In the absence of any African member on the Board, Africans legitimately felt their interests were inadequately represented by the four white members.⁹⁵ Africans were not convinced that the slowness of African University education was that "few Africans from secondary schools were qualifying to proceed to universities"⁹⁶ especially when deserving candidates like Blair Penuel Saka, a Malawian, were denied a scholarship because of Saka's long stay in Southern Rhodesia from where he applied for the scholarship. African girls were in an even worse position and the first, Roseby Kazembe, to get a scholarship, was alone genuinely for lack of female candidates in the secondary school.

But the Nyasaland Government could not agree to more than only two African representatives as suggested in the Director of Education's letter to the Federal Secretary of Education⁹⁷ who, however, held his own views on this matter. As if to emphasize the racial element of the Federation, two higher Federal Boards, one for Africans and the other for Europeans, were instead proposed, the former with one African representative from each territory;⁹⁸ the situation was far from satisfactory to Africans who could not help wondering why scholarship funds voted for the tiny European population in Malawi for 1954-55 ^{ere} ~~was~~ £1,245 against only £1,295 for the African majority. The major problem concerning business of a Federal nature was the weakness of Malawian Federal M.P.'s to tackle the affairs in the dynamic spirit of N.A. Congress. In numerous cases, of course, these M.P.'s could also be subjected to misinterpretation even after putting up a gallant fight, because of the ferocious anti-Federation atmosphere. Occasionally they could be persuaded very easily by their Federal bosses which justified their ostracism by the Africans. For example at a specially convened meeting to discuss the proposed racially

separate scholarship Boards, with Sir Christopher Cox of the Colonial Office in attendance, the five Africans proved so fickle⁹⁹ and non-committal that a statement had to be made in favour of the two Federal Boards, and wildly suggested one or two Africans from each territory on the membership!¹⁰⁰ It was for lack of real effect as representatives of Africans that African Federal M.P.'s failed to enjoy any support and confidence of the African majority. These circumstances forced some Malawians to formally re-emphasize Britain's traditional responsibility over the welfare of Malawians, urging the metropolitan state to sponsor more Malawians beyond the 5 students in 1956 to study in Britain.¹⁰¹ This representation to the Secretary of State, himself one of the proponents of the Federation, was an act of desperation and partly occasioned by the renewed barring of Malawian students to South African universities¹⁰² with effect from 1958. But the creation of two racist scholarship Boards was unlikely to alter the situation since any decisions by the African Board would need the blessing of a white Federal Secretary for Education who would always ensure minimal Federal expenditure on African education,¹⁰³ most of this benefitting Malawians the least in the service of racial non-equality.¹⁰⁴

One other major issue in African aspiration for higher education, besides paucity of scholarships, was the derogatory attitude, both at territorial and Federal levels, ^{towards} ~~on~~ the African's academic capability which permeated policies for recognition of universities where an increased number of Malawians might get degrees. The Government believed that only a handful of Malawians were indeed capable of acquiring a sound university education from recognised western institutions.¹⁰⁵ The situation was complicated by the contradictory ethos that university education for those likely to change their negative views about the Federation constituted a worth-while exercise, and academic merit did not feature as crucial here.¹⁰⁶

In the 1950's countries like India extended assistance to train Malawians in their universities, but with little goodwill from the colonial Government. The trend, defying calculated Government dilatory strategy, created official Government uneasiness in view of

the likely consequences of increased African graduates to compete for jobs in the country. Government defended its segregationist policy as one directed not against the university being in India "but that the level of education at some of these universities is low and the consequent output is of low quality".¹⁰⁷ In practice, every Malawian graduate of any Indian university underwent the most demoralising rigorous scrutiny to gain recognition of his degree, which was withheld from some of them. The Indian Government in fact had to write the Nyasaland Government defending its degrees.¹⁰⁸ As if this deterrent to African educational progress was not enough, poor working conditions for African graduates made university education for Malawians almost meaningless in terms of salaries and general amenities.

The indignities suffered by the early Malawian graduates originated from Terms and Conditions of Service which made the African graduate unwelcome on the colonial scene. In 1957 three African graduates teaching at Dedza Secondary School complained, as Education Officers Grade I, about their salary scale of £550-£1315 against that of Europeans at £895-£1850 of similar rank; this was coupled by differences in leave terms of 54 days for 3 years service for Africans compared with 6 months for similar length of service for Europeans.¹⁰⁹ The concept of racial equality on work was never put to use. Even more irritating was the fact that British diplomats and Volunteer Service Overseas cadets with less qualifications than African graduates, got better treatment. Government reaction to the above complaint was to suggest a re-examination of the salary issue to placate Africans of intelligence whose leadership powers might turn them "into a serious danger"¹¹⁰ and not move to reward and retain talent in Government service. But the expatriate allegedly still needed better leave conditions for a longer period "in a temperate climate which presumably is not necessary for indigenous Africans"¹¹¹ who should only get a compromise between leave periods for expatriates and those for the junior executive position. As late as October 1958 Government promises of a salary revision had not materialised.¹¹² In December a strongly worded letter was

addressed to the Governor¹¹³ reiterating the complaints. This letter constituted the final act of desperation by the Malawian graduates after unsuccessful representations to the Director of Education, the Financial Secretary and the Chief Establishment Officer, about unfulfilled promises including a revision of salary scales.¹¹⁴ But even housing for African graduates was a pinprick, and Mr. J.D. Msonthi was a case in point.

John Msonthi was one of the first two Malawians to get a Cambridge Overseas School Certificate at Zomba Catholic Secondary School in 1948. After obtaining degrees at St. Francis Xavier College in India with Catholic support, Msonthi logically sought to teach in a Catholic school in Malawi. However, missionary policy towards African graduates was perhaps even less defined than that of Government. When the Catholic St. John's Teacher Training College moved from Likuni to four miles south of Lilongwe town in 1960, Msonthi's housing created a crisis¹¹⁵ and eventually a new house had to be built specially for him. Catholic Missionaries, like D.R.C. Missionaries, took time to reconcile their thinking to the African graduate's need for "European" standard housing. In this respect Government segregationist approach to housing at Dedza Secondary School furnishes its own example. It was therefore clear that Government's apparent encouragement of African higher education was in fact mostly lipservice, for the African graduate was a potential threat to the survival of the colonial political and social structure.

The Years of Decision, 1960-61, and The Phillips Commission

The release on 1st April 1960 of Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda, former President of the Nyasaland African Congress ushered in a new watershed in colonial and African attitudes towards African higher education. To the Protectorate Government, African majority rule was imminent and everything possible had to be done in preparing Africans for that development. To Malawians, university education called for a much faster pace even if this entailed confrontation with those in control of policy. As late as 1959 the country

possessed only 23 Malawian graduates,¹¹⁶ most of them teachers, against 27 in Northern Rhodesia.¹¹⁷ The Malawian's view was clear:

Scholarships, bursaries and loans are not the solution to the acute problem of higher education in Malawi, and to provide the men needed in the civil service, industry, commerce and other fields (the Party) will therefore take steps to establish the Malawi University...as soon as is possible.¹¹⁸

By 1960 the position of higher education for Africans was still desperate. The major bottlenecks have already been mentioned; 1960 was a year for the balance sheet. The 1960 statistics showed only 14 and 9 students in lower and upper Sixth Form,¹¹⁹ the candidates for university education. The position obviously posed a challenge to the Malawi Congress Party election Manifesto proposal for a university in the face of such dismal numbers of candidates unless a new formula for university education, even if unfavourable to the colonial scene, was worked out which combined numbers and quality. It was clear that if a local university was to be established the Form Six entry requirement called for rethinking. In fact, not all the 9 Form VI students, except 2, would qualify for the U.C.R.N.¹²⁰ And in 1960 out of the 43 Malawians attending degree courses, only 7 were at the U.C.R.N.¹²¹ Although the Plan for Educational Development 1957-61 promised expansion of the secondary system this mainly applied to junior levels and by 1961 only four out of seventeen secondary schools had attained school certificate level; only one of these, Dedza, introduced higher school certificate¹²² in 1958.

The arrival of the Phillips Commission in 1961 seemed timely, as the country moved towards a general election in August which resulted in a landslide victory for the Malawi Congress Party. But this development did not effect the Commission's view on various problems of the educational system, including higher. The somewhat unfavourable reception accorded to the Phillips Report by the African Government originated from its lack of any dynamic proposals for higher education; this necessitated the appointment of the Johnson Commission and the production of the Johnson Report that took into

account the urgent need for the expansion of higher education for Africans and establishment of a local university.

Memoranda to the Phillips Commission recognised the need for more university scholarships and bursaries,¹²³ not only at higher school certificate level but even at Form IV level, a qualification acceptable by several universities in Africa, Asia and even U.S.A.; but most representations fell short of suggesting the establishment of a local university. Other important organizations did not even mention higher education for Africans.¹²⁴ Others suggested the abolition¹²⁵ of school fees in Forms V and VI at Dedza Secondary School which in any case would not cripple Government finances. But in all this what was needed was the revamping of the whole senior secondary system for one geared towards a local university for an enlarged output of graduates.¹²⁶

The idea of a local university failed to command much popularity with the Phillips Commission which still favoured U.C.R.N. and other external institutions while discouraging any expansion on Form VI work on grounds of economy.¹²⁷ The Committee could only envisage, as a gradual development, the establishment of an "intermediate" college as an economical measure. A university college in Malawi was not necessary although Malawians at U.C.R.N. never exceeded ten at any given time. A local full university represented a very remote possibility. This background led the newly-constituted African majority Government, from 1961, with an African Minister of Education, to consider the appointment of the Survey Team on Education in Malawi led by Professor Eldon Johnson of the United States, and funded by the African Council on Education whose Report came out in 1964.

Although details of this new Commission and Report lie outside the preoccupation of this chapter¹²⁸ it is important to note its emphasis on the urgent need of a local university suited to local conditions and circumstances while maintaining a partnership and links with older universities in Africa and overseas¹²⁹ to ensure standards and recognition. Malawi needed what Busia¹³⁰ has called a purposeful education tailored to the country's needs to avoid

wastage of resources. The Johnson Report formed the basis for the University of Malawi which was inaugurated in October 1965 as part of President Banda's Gwelo Plan conceived during his imprisonment there from 3rd March 1959 to 1st April 1960.¹³¹ To revolutionize the educational and economic systems, Malawi needed many qualified teachers and people in other fields, a need a local university was expected to fulfil. It was the nationalists' determination which not only broke the unfruitful Federation but defined Malawi's needs that included a university, with Form IV or Cambridge School Certificate as the entrance qualification to afford training to many Malawians for various jobs. So that, in spite of Roy Welensky's (Federal Prime Minister) claims, the U.C.R.N. never stood as "one of the Federation's most outstanding single achievements in the field of education",¹³² for as far as Malawi was concerned the U.C.R.N. as a Federal institution demanding patronage within the Federation stagnated the Protectorate's education for Africans. The break-up of the Federation gave substance to the idea of a University of Malawi which received its blessings at the 1962 Tananarive Conference of African Education Ministers, so that, by 1963, only the details remained, hence the Johnson Commission.

Conclusion

Higher education in Malawi is a story of inevitable contradictions in the colonial days, and of panic with the arrival of an African-dominated Government in the early 1960's. Higher education for Africans was the most lethal to colonial survival and the delay was only to be expected, especially within the Federal era when the declared policy of racial partnership and equal opportunities meant nothing in practice regardless of the Colonial Office views to the contrary. To the African nationalists of the 1960's, independence meant little without a national university to produce the required personnel; it was not just a political slogan for prestige and style but an institution to meet a definite need and lend meaning to African independence which, launched in a limited measure in 1961, was finally granted to Malawi in full in 1964. But higher education per se for

a nation falls short of the ideal if sections of the population fail to benefit from it on equal terms. Such sections, constituting almost an antithesis of the efforts in education, included women whose treatment forms the next chapter.

Footnotes to Chapter IV

Higher Education for Africans

1. I.C.M. Maxwell "Central Africa" Book draft BA, (2nd June 1974), p. 1. Shepperson Collection. Maxwell served for some time as Deputy Director of the Inter-University Council.
2. Minutes of a Conference of Directors of Native Education, Salisbury 18-21st Oct 1941. CO 525/190/44070/3/42. (PRO). Also Ed Dep Rep 1941, p.8.
3. Richards to Viscount Cranborne (Colonial Secretary), 13th Aug 1942 Despatch No. 76 CO 525/190/44070/3/43 (PRO).
4. Note of a Meeting held in Mr. Cohen's Office (Colonial Office) on Wednesday 5th April 1944 (following Cox's visit to Malawi), CO 525/194/44070/1 (1944). Cox's prediction of a University of Central Africa within 20 years was reduced by 10. The University of Malawi was born in 1964.
5. Ibid.
6. In 1944 Makerere was taking 3 Malawians.
7. Countries like Ghana (Gold Coast), Nigeria, Sierra Leone and the Gambia were by 1945 already sending many people to British Universities for training for senior posts. See Overseas Education Vol XVI, No. 2, (Jan 1945) pp 66-67. Also Memorandum on Educational Policy in Nigeria (Sessional Paper 20/1947, Government Printer, Lagos 1947) pp 4-5, 27-29.
8. See Scanlon, Traditions in African Education Ch. 6 "Belgian Education Policy".
9. "Lord Hailey's African Survey: Ch. XVIII, Education Part 1, British Colonies", Col Rev Vol I (Aug 1939) p. 30.
10. Secretary of State for the Colonies, "Political, Educational and Economic Development in the British Colonial Empire", condensed from House of Commons Official Report, July 13th 1943, in Col Rev Vol III, (sept 1943) pp 69-72.
11. See A.M. Carr-Saunders, New Universities Overseas (George Allen and Unwin, London 1961) Ch. 2. Hereinafter Carr-Saunders, New Universities.
12. See "Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies", Col Rev Vol 4 (June 1946) p. 176.

Footnotes to Chapter IV (Cont'd)

13. Col. Rev (Sept 1943) p. 70.
14. Ibid. Also see Memorandum on Educational Policy in Nigeria (Sessional Paper 20/1947), Ch. X entitled "Higher Education".
15. Eric Ashby, African Universities and Western Tradition (O.U.P., London, 1964), p. 11. Hereinafter Ashby, African Universities.
16. I.U.C. terms of reference were "[a] to strengthen cooperation between the universities of the United Kingdom and the existing universities in colonial territories, [b] to foster the development of higher colleges in the colonies and their advance to university status and [c] to take such other action as will give effect to the principles recommended by the (Asquith) Commission as appropriate for the promotion of higher education, learning and research in the colonies". No African sat on the Council membership. "Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies", Col Rev Vol 4 (June 1946), p. 176.
17. 60th Session of Legco 19-20th April and 15th May 1945, Record of Proceedings of the Legco of Nyasaland, Zomba Presentation of the 1945 Education Bill.
18. The 1944 Estimates had an increased provision of £2,500 for bursaries of all races. Post-War Dev Rep p. 49. In that year only 3 Africans proceeding to Makerere got a share of such funds.
19. Pamphlet on the Education Legislation 1945, (Government Printer, Zomba 1945), p.8.
20. Margaret Robinson to J.W.C. Dougall 27.3.1948 ACC 7548 402B (N.L.S., Edinburgh).
21. Dougall's review of "Report on Higher Education in East Africa", I.R.M. Vol 27, (1938), pp 135-137.
22. Nyasaland Protectorate, Report of the Secondary Education Committee (Government Printer, Zomba 1946), P. 1. Another deputation led by G.J. Pike, Principal of Blantyre Secondary School visited Makerere College, Ibid. p. 3.
23. Ed Dep Rep 1947 p. 14
24. Ed. Dep Rep 1948 p. 12.

Footnotes to Chapter IV (Cont'd)

25. Nyasaland Government Scholarships

Europeans 10 (Arts, music, medicine, dentistry,
science, physioth.)

Africans 3 (Arts, 1, science, 1, medicine, 1)

Colonial Scholarships

Europeans 2 (medicine, Veterinary science)

Africans 8 (Education diplomas, 1 special course
Coop. Movement).

Ed Dep Rep 1949 p. 19

26. Minute No. 4900/285 dated 31.12.1948 from Acting Chief Secretary, Central African Council. See Director of Native Education, Salisbury, to Director of Education, Zomba, 14.2.1949, AFR 231 "Central African College for Higher Education of Africans", Box 140 (MNA, Zomba).
27. "A Statement of views by G.M. Miller", circulated by A.E.T. Benson, Chief Secretary, Committee on Higher Education for Africans, Central African Council. AFR 231 Box 140 (MNA, Zomba).
28. Note by Acting Director of Education, Nyasaland (A.G. Fraser) to Committee on Higher Education for Africans, 16th June 1949. AFR 231 Box 140 (MNA, Zomba).
29. "Statement for Information of Members of Committee for Higher Education" by Director of Native Education, Southern Rhodesia, 11th June 1949. AFR 231 Box 140 (MNA, Zomba).
30. J.A. Cottrell, Acting Director of Education (African), N. Rhodesia, to Secretary for Native Affairs, Lusaka, 22nd Nov 1948. AFR 231 Box 140 (MNA, Zomba).
31. Minutes of a Special Meeting of the Standing Committee of the Advisory Committee on African Education, 1.7.1949. AFR 231 "Central African College for Higher Education of Africans", Box 140 (MNA, Zomba).
32. J.F. Sangala (President of the Nyasaland African Congress) to Rev Doig, 18.7.1949, AFR 231 Box 140 (MNA, Zomba).
33. Ibid.
34. Memo from Nyasaland African Congress to Governor Edmund Richards, 15.5.1945 CO 525/199/44379(45).

Footnotes to Chapter IV (Cont'd)

35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. Minutes of Second Meeting of the Committee on Higher Education for Africans held at the Central African Council Secretariat Offices, 9.8.1949. AFR 231 Box 140 (MNA, Zomba).
39. Costs:
 Capital £300,000 (given a free site)
 Recurrent £200 per student £120,000
 Minutes of the Second Meeting of the Committee on Higher Education for Africans, 9.8.1949 AFR 231 Box 140 (MNA, Zomba).
40. The suggested membership of this Commission included
 Chairman: Prof. Sir Raymond Priestley
 Members : Miss Freda Gwilliam (Colonial Office)
 Prof. Mathews (an African of Fort Hare)
 Secretary: A person well versed in local conditions and problems of African education.
41. See Report of the Committee submitted to Chief Secretary, Central African Council, 16.11.1949. AFR 231 Box 140 (MNA, Zomba).
42. Ed Dep Rep 1950 p. 14. Also Commissioner of Immigrant and Asiatic Affairs to Principal Immigration Officer, Nyasaland, 10.12.1951. AFR 231A, "Memoranda to Commission on Higher Education for Africans", (MNA, Zomba).
43. Director of Education (D.S. Miller, Zomba) to Chief Secretary, Zomba 2.3.1951, AFR 231 Box 140 (MNA, Zomba). Also Miller to Rev. N. Bernard, 7.4.1951. AFR 231 Box 140.

44.	Estimated Pool of School Certificate Students		Probable Entrants into College	
	<u>1954</u>	<u>1957</u>	<u>1954</u>	<u>1957</u>
Southern Rhodesia	70	110-120	35	60
Northern Rhodesia	84	68	35	50
Nyasaland	40	40	30	30
High Commission Territories	<u>35</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>30</u>
	<u>229</u>	<u>263-273</u>	<u>125</u>	<u>170</u>

Footnotes to Chapter IV (Cont'd)

44. (Cont'd)
Precis for Executive Council, "Proposal to Establish a College for Higher Education for African students in Central Africa", 31.7.1951. AFR 231 Box 140 (MNA, Zomba).
45. "Minutes of Committee on Higher Education for Africans", 2.5.1951, AFR 231 Box 140, (MNA, Zomba).
46. Ibid.
47. Minutes of Committee on Higher Education for Africans, 2.5.1951, AFR 231 Box 140, (MNA, Zomba), p. 4.
48. Ibid. Also interview with Rev. Neil Bernard, 24.11.1981, Edinburgh.
49. See Record of Proceedings of the British House of Commons, 7.12.1951.
50. In 1950 the number of Africans in their own universities and colleges was 1,114 out of a total of 2,763 in the whole of the colonial territories. Probably about 4,000 went to Britain. However, only 43 women were in universities and colleges in the whole of the African continent which had a population of over 60 million! Ibid.
51. op. cit p. 2714.
52. See Footnote 40.
53. Membership of the new Commission included
A.M. Carr-Saunders (Chairman)
A.V. Hill
Alexander Kerr
F.G. Young
Walter Adams (Secretary)

Source: Carr-Saunders Report p. 60.
54. Population in 1952:

	<u>Africans</u>	<u>Europeans</u>	<u>Asians</u>	<u>Coloured</u>	<u>Total</u>
Southern Rhodesia	1,800,000	152,000	4,600	6,300	1,962,900
Northern "	1,930,000	43,000	3,100	1,200	1,977,300
Nyasaland	2,270,000	5,000	6,000	500	2,281,500
	<u>6,000,000</u>	<u>200,000</u>	<u>13,700</u>	<u>8,000</u>	<u>6,221,700</u>

Carr-Saunders Report p. 5.

Footnotes to Chapter IV (Cont'd)

55. Lord Listowel, Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, in the House of Lords, November 1949, quoted in Native Policy, p. 5.
56. Secretary of State for the Colonies, in the House of Commons on 12th July 1950, quoted in Native Policy, p. 5.
57. Memorandum from the Nyasaland African Medical Organization, Oct 1952 to the Higher Education Commission. AFR 231A Box 140, (MNA, Zomba).
58. Nyasaland National Teachers Association, Southern Province, Memorandum on African Higher Education in Central Africa, Oct 1952 to the Commission. AFR 231A Box 140 (MNA, Zomba).
59. Ibid.
60. See Appendix V
61. Native Policy pp 54-57.
62. Carr-Saunders Report p. 27.
63. Cowan, O'Connell and Scanlon eds. Education and Nation-Building p. 28
64. See details in Atkins, Teaching Rhodesians, Ch. 8 pp 146-155.
65. Ibid. pp 28-29. Also "Towards a Central African University", Corona Vol V, No. 8 p. 318.
66. Ibid. p. 29. Also "Commission on Higher Education", Report U.M.C.A. Annual Review 1952, p 20.
67. Ibid. p 20. Also see "A University for Central Africa", Col Rev Vol 8 (Sept 1953) pp 71-72.
68. "Note of Discussions with the Deputation from the Nyasaland African Protectorate Council", 22.4.1952 SMP 20520 Box 5948 (MNA, Zomba).
69. W.L. Gorell Barnes to Governor Geoffrey Colby, 22.7.1952 "Increased facilities for secondary and higher education, both inside and outside Nyasaland", SMP 20520 Box 5948 (MNA, Zomba).
70. Margery Perham to Governor Colby, 10.10.1952 SMP 20520 Box 5948 (MNA, Zomba).

Footnotes to Chapter IV (Cont'd)

71. Director of African Education, Rhodesia, to T. Williams, Ministry of Education, Lusaka. 3.8.1954 SMP 20520 Box 5948 (MNA, Zomba).
72. Committee on Higher Education for Africans: Meeting in Salisbury, 3-4th Feb 1954. AFR462 Box 149 (MNA, Zomba); Also R.F. Stowell, Director of Education, Zomba, to Federal Secretary for Education, Causeway, 3.8.1954. In AFR 462 Box 149 (MNA, Zomba).
73. Acting Director of Medical Services, Zomba, to Director of Education, Zomba. 20.8.1954. AFR 462 Box 149 (MNA, Zomba).
74. J.C. Morgan, Colonial Office, to Geoffrey Colby, Governor of Nyasaland, 26th July 1955. SMP 20520 Box 5948 (Zomba, Malawi).
75. For example the uprising on the estate of J. Tennet and Sons in Mulanje and other isolated incidents in the same year compounded by the introduction of new agricultural measures (Malimidwe) whose forceful and undiplomatic enforcement only triggered African physical resistance.
76. Minute 72, Sec for African Affairs (Zomba) to Chief Secretary (Zomba) 12.8.1955. SMP 20520 Box 5948 (MNA, (Zomba).
77. Minute 73, Chief Secretary to Director of Education Zomba 13.8.1955. SMP 20520 Box 5948 (MNA, Zomba).
78. See Minute 93, Acting Chief Secretary to Governor 15.9.1955. SMP 20520 Box 5948 (MNA, Zomba).
79. Acting Chief Secretary, Zomba, to Secretary, Federal Prime Minister's Office, Salisbury, 18.8.1955.
80. See "Higher Education Overseas - Second Stage", Col Rev (Sept 1955) pp 69-70, abridged extracts from the Inter-University Council for Higher Education Overseas 1946-1954. (HMSO, London 1955) CMd 9515, 1955.
81. I.C.M. Maxwell, "Central Africa" Book Draft 3A (June 1974) p. 16.
82. Maxwell, op cit p. 12.
83. Maxwell, Ibid p. 18 cites the incident without mentioning the name of Sarah Chavunduka, which appears in Rita Hinden, No Cheer in Central Africa (Fabian Commonwealth Bureau, London 1958) p. 19.

Footnotes to Chapter IV (Cont'd)

84. Student figures:

1957:	60 Europeans, 8 Africans (2 from Malawi)	Total 68
1962:	271 non-Africans, 74 Africans	Total 345
1963:	330 non-Africans, 151 Africans	Total 481

Source: Maxwell, Ibid p. 18.

85. Ed Dep Rep 1957 p. 15. In 1958 Malawians at U.C.R.N. were still only two; Ed Dep Rep. 1958 p. 1. Increasing to four only in 1959. Ed Dep Rep. 1959 p. 1.

86. Director of African Education, N. Rhodesia, to Director of Education, Zomba, Sept. 1954, "Education-Policy", Box 142 (MNA, Zomba).

87. Acting Director of Education, S. Rhodesia, to Director of Education, Zomba, 23.9.1954. AFR 250 Box 142 (MNA, Zomba).

88. Director of Education, Zomba, to T.H. Eustace, High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa and Rhodesia, Salisbury, 18.10.1954, Secret, File 25966, Box 5948 (MNA, Zomba).

89. R.F. Stowell, Director of Education, Zomba, to Director of Native Education, Salisbury, 30.10.1954. AFR 250 Box 142 (MNA, Zomba).

90. Acting Director of Education, Zomba, to Acting Chief Secretary, Zomba, 27.3.1953; C10/1 "Scholarships Policy 1953-1958", Box 4635 (MNA, Zomba).

91. Ibid.

92. Acting Chief Secretary to Director of Education 2.4.1953 C10/1 Box 4635 (MNA, Zomba).

93. See W.M. Chirwa to Secretary for African Affairs, Zomba, 7.6.1954/ C10/1 Box 4635 (MNA, Zomba).

94. P.M. Withers, Secretary, to Chief Secretary, Zomba, 12.4.1954. C10/1 Box 4635.

95. Members included Director of Education (Chairman), Hon. and Rev A.B. Doig, M.P. Acting Director of Medical Services, Southern Provincial Commissioner.

96. Minutes of the Scholarships and Bursaries Board, Zomba, 15.5.1954 C10/1 "Scholarship Policy 1953-58", Box 4635 (MNA, Zomba).

97. Stowell to Federal Secretary of Education Confidential, C. Gen 890/83 15.9.1954 C10/1 Box 4635 (MNA, Zomba).

Footnotes to Chapter IV (Cont'd)

98. Meeting of the Bursaries and Scholarship Boards under Federation 7th Oct 1954, Salisbury. C10/1 Box 4635 (MNA, Zomba).
99. Draft minutes of Meeting held in the Office of the Director of Education, 26th Nov 1954 C10/1 Box 4635 (MNA, Zomba).
100. R.F. Stowell, Zomba, to Federal Secretary for Education, Confidential. C. Gen 890/114, 21/12/1954 C10/1 Box 4635 (MNA, Zomba).
101. "Memorandum submitted by Mr. W.M. Chirwa, M.P. to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 4 Jan. 1956". SMP 20520 "Higher Education for Africans- Policy". Box 5948 (MNA, Zomba).
102. Some British MP's showed interest in this matter. See Dr. Dickson Mabon, M.P. to Alan Lennox-Boyd M.P. (Colonial Secretary), 21/2/1957. SMP 28825 Vol. II, "Parliamentary and Legco Questions on Educational Matters", Box 5947, (MNA Zomba).

103. Federal expenditure for Educational Services

<u>Year</u>	<u>European</u>	<u>African</u>
1956-57	\$13,059,200	\$10,679,200
1957-58	\$15,492,400	\$12,759,600

See James, "Education in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland 1890-1963" p. 168.

104. Even the territorial Government believed in racism and its hierarchy. As late as 1957 any idea of non-racial secondary education was ruled out by the Director of Education See Minute 127 Director of Education to Chief Secretary, 21/10/1957 Secret File 25966 Box 5948 (MNA, Zomba).
105. Minute 175 Governor Armitage 11/7/1959 Secret File 25966 Box 5948 (MNA, Zomba).
106. Ibid
107. Minute 200, Director of Social Welfare and Local Govt. to Secretary for Local Govt., 21/3/1960 Secret File 25966. By 1960, of the 18 Malawians studying in the U.K. only two were taking degrees. Five were studying in the U.S.A. and six in India. Telegram No. 304 Governor, Zomba to Secretary of State in reply to Parliamentary Questions by James Callaghan M.P. SMP 28825 Vol. II Box 5947 (MNA, Zomba).

Footnotes to Chapter IV (Cont'd)

108. High Commissioner of India in S. Rhodesia, N. Rhodesia and Nyasaland to Chief Secretary, Zomba, 1.8.1953, SMP 25112, "Recognition of Degrees of Indian Universities in Nyasaland", Box 2546 (MNA, Zomba).
109. Petition from J.D. Rubadiri, A.W. Bwanausi, E.D. Mwasi to Director of Education, 23.9.1957. C7/247, "African Graduates 1957-59", Box 4634 (MNA, Zomba).
110. Director of Education to Chief Secretary, 12.10.1957 Confidential, C7/247 Box 4634 (MNA, Zomba). Also see "Note of Interview granted by the Director of Education to M/S Bwanausi, Mwasi, and Rubadiri at Dedza Secondary School on 18th December 1957..." C7/247 Confidential Box 4634 (MNA, Zomba).
111. Director of Education to Chief Secretary, op. cit.
112. See G. Kahumbe and J.D. Rubadiri to Chief Secretary, 30.9.1958, E.D. Mwasi, A.W. Bwanasi, V.H.B. Gondwe to Chief Secretary, 6.10.1958. C7/247 Confidential Box 4634 (MNA, Zomba).
113. J.D. Rubadiri, V.H.B. Gondwe, G. Kahumbe to Governor Confidential 16.12.1958, C7/147 "African Graduates, 1957-59", Box 4634 (MNA, Zomba).
114. See E.D. Mwasi to Governor, 28.12.1958 Confidential; G.E. Michongwe and L.P. Anthony to Governor 1.1.1959. Confidential; C7/247 Box 4634 (MNA, Zomba). Also see Helen Kitchen ed., The Educated African, p. 230.
115. Minute 2 Acting Director of Education to Director of Social Services and Local Government, 17.10.1960, SMP 14154 "African Teachers - Conditions of Employment", Box 5948 (MNA, Zomba).
116. An analysis of the graduates is as follows:-
Medicine 2 (1 in Federal Service, 1 in private practice)
Arts 15 (13 teachers, 2 politics)
Science 5 (2 teachers, 2 agriculture, 1 pursuing medicine)
Commerce 1 (administration).
23 (21 men and 2 women).
C4/19 15.4.1959 on C7/247 Box 4634 (MNA, Zomba).

Footnotes to Chapter IV (Cont'd)

117. H. Noak, "University College of Northern Rhodesia", Confidential 21.10.1960. SMP 36923 Box 5948 (MNA, Zomba). Besides the 27, there were 16 Northern Rhodesians doing further study or work outside the country, bringing the total to 43.
118. Malawi Congress Party Manifesto, p. 8.
119. Secondary School Enrolment, 1960. See Appendix VI.
120. Higher School Certificate Results Also see Appendix VI.
121. 1960 Statistics
Total : 43
Number sponsored : 30
Private : 13
43
Ed Dep Rep 1960 p. 32. 72 Malawians were on non-degree courses abroad in 1960. Ed Dep Rep 1960 p. 33.
122. Phillips Report p. 36.
123. See for example D.G. Kangulu, R.N.L. Nkomba, D.L. Kadzamira, "Memorandum to the Committee of Inquiry into African Education in Nyasaland". SMP 33062A Confidential, Box 5949 (MNA, Zomba).
124. Nyasaland National Teachers' Association to the Committee of Inquiry, 16.1. 1961. SMP 33062A Confidential Box 5949 (MNA, Zomba).
125. D. Potter to the Committee of Inquiry, Jan 1961. SMP 33062A Box 5949 (MNA, Zomba).
126. L.M.E.G. Kalima to the Committee of Inquiry, 4.1.1961 SMP Box 5949 (MNA, Zomba).
127. PHillips Report pp 153-154.
128. Details in H.M. Lange, "The Development of Higher Education in an Emergent Country: Malawi, Africa 1960-1967", (D. Ed Thesis, University of Southern California 1973) passim.
129. As envisaged by L.J. Lewis, "Partnership in Overseas Education" Overseas Quarterly, Vol I (June 1959) pp 166-169.

Footnotes to Chapter IV (Cont'd)

129. (Cont'd) See other articles, Eric Ashby, "African Higher Education" Overseas Quarterly Vol 3 (June 1962) pp 43-44; Bernard de Bunsen, "Higher Education and Political Change in East Africa", Overseas Quarterly Vol 2 (Sept 1961) pp 198-200.
130. Busia, Purposeful Education, especially Chs IV and V.
131. Details see Bridglal Pachai, "University Education in Malawi", Africa Quarterly, Vol VI No. 4 (Jan-March 1967) pp 343-351.
132. F.R.N., Legacy of Progress: Achievements of the Years of Federation, 1953-1963, C. Fed 269, p. 12.

CHAPTER V

Education for African Girls

African women and girls certainly show plenty of intelligence and many of them have ability and initiative, but what of the training of these latent powers?¹

But do not let us fall into the mistake of urging the education for girls for the sake of boys... That girls' education is generally behind that of boys in Central Africa has not altogether been the fault of educationalists in the past, who, in their pioneer work, were faced with such special difficulties that any other result was almost impossible in their peculiar and difficult situation.²

The Plan for Educational Development 1957/61, included in its delineated goals the provision of "equality of educational opportunity for boys and girls".³ Inequality of educational opportunity for boys and girls in Malawi was an old tradition since the first school was established as early as 1875; this partly explains why female education forms a neglected chapter in the history of Malawi. It is in fact safe to suggest that no serious consideration for girls existed in the early educational plans in which they featured not more than a footnote. Missions and Government, though operating as separate institutions, to a large extent shared responsibility in their own ways for this state of affairs.

The foregoing opening quotations of the 1940's, partly as an implicit admission and exoneration of missionary failure to appreciate the important place of an African woman in society, demonstrated the guilt of educators. As the observation continues, "the time has come when it is imperative that we should make a serious attempt to solve the problems that girls' education present us..."⁴ Indeed, fitting the woman into her society, sometimes interpreted differently by Missions, featured as the most tenaciously upheld goal in the excessive conservatism that characterised African female education in Malawi.

Throughout history women have been accorded backseat treatment as second class citizens occupying a place of subservience in a male dominated society. If western education could serve a liberating function for women then it posed a threat to male supremacy and dominance. This explains the backwardness and slow progress of female

education, especially in developing countries like Malawi. This chapter seeks to demonstrate the interplay of factors that retarded female education.

The Early Western Conception and Problems of African Female Education.

The early Victorian attitudes which permeated female education in Malawi sought as their objective the creation of a perfect Christian wife and a useful low class vernacular teacher, nurse or nanny.⁵ Great importance was placed on mere literacy necessary for reading the Bible and other vernacular religious literature. Missionary pre-occupation with evangelism to de-emphasize secular professional interests excluded any real concern for women who, in Biblical terms, could not even serve as evangelists without violating the "commandment" stipulating women's silence in the running of church affairs. The proper education for the African woman, if any, was that which promoted her dependency on the man, a situation often seen by westerners as conveniently fitting in the African milieu. But as Margaret Read⁶ has observed, a notable characteristic among the northern Ngoni women in Malawi was their participation in decision making, both social and political. The missionary's lack of sufficient knowledge of the African women's power base in society eventually contributed to the erosion of this power as negative and dysfunctional educational strategies were formulated to inculcate into the girls a quality of submission. Female education in a capitalist society had to ensure the woman's status quo in the ability to produce and sustain the household and, as a beast of burden, to support the family within the framework of native life.

The responsibilities of women included "supply and preparation of food"⁷ which she produced as a field worker; ensuring the family's comfort of sleep in the habitation; and clothing. Accordingly, girls' education had to impart knowledge of these elementary necessities of human life.

In a way, even if missionary education operated in terms of profitability, consistency was lacking because if the woman represented the pillar of the family her role deserved the best of education, and progressive agriculture as a subject would only have made sense. But

commercially lucrative arts for a long time seemed unsuitable for the girls' curriculum. Besides, the idea of avoiding to remove Africans from traditional society through education seemed self-defeating because, as the case came to be, this led to undesirable class formation as "educated Christian" women assumed a separate social identity.

Application of a Philosophy : Legend

Missionaries deserve credit for laying educational foundations in Malawi. However, even at Livingstonia where Dr. Robert Laws, the great visionary of his time, operated a superior education, little room, if any, was left for girls' advancement in competition with men.⁸ One of the reasons for the failure of intelligent girls with academic promise to proceed beyond the vernacular grades was the nature of the subsequent curricula which featured technical education to cater for men only.

Several other factors bedevilled girls' education, some missionary-generated and others with an indigenous traditional and local base. In a country with very few and poorly distributed schools, education entailed walking long distances which girls could not often cope with. Besides, kidnapping and occasional murder of school children by highwaymen were not unknown.⁹ This hazardous situation created reluctance among parents to send their daughters to schools far away from home. As a result, the village schools, with their appalling poor and low education, provided the needed security for the daughters who, unfortunately, ended up with inferior education. Apart from all this, western education proved a traumatic experience to both girls and boys. The rigours of a timetable discipline for classes and labour failed to impress many Malawian children who sometimes even had to grow food in the school gardens for their own consumption, especially in boarding school. Besides all these problems, the length of the courses proved unattractive to some parents with anxiety to see their daughters married before any infringement of sacred social sanctions and taboos like premarital pregnancy. In certain cases co-education

was seen as a negative factor in girls' education.

A divergence of opinion existed in Mission circles on co-education. While Livingstonia favoured it, Nkhoma (D.R.C.M.) registered no serious objection; but Blantyre found it acceptable only in the very early stages of primary education. This issue demonstrated the misunderstanding of fundamental social dynamics in an African society where institutionalised occasions always existed for adolescents to mix as part of the socialization process. The concept of Girls' Schools thus operated mainly within the Blantyre and Nkhoma (D.R.C.) Missions. Liberal-minded missionaries like the Scottish Rev. A.G. Fraser, a refreshing educational theorist, denounced the underlying belief and fear of alleged excessive African licentiousness which militated against co-education.¹⁰ But the majority of missionary educators opposed Fraser.

Another factor against girls' education was school fees. In a subsistence farming society with meagre sources of cash income, the introduction of fees presented the poor African father of several male and female children with the hideous task of choosing the sons' education as a better investment in the absence of useful career prospects for girls. Missionaries, however, ignored the socio-economic factor and often cited early marriages, parental apathy and traditional initiation ceremonies as the hindrances to girls' education.

Condemnation of initiation ceremonies was more widespread in the D.R.C.M. zone. Only gradually did the Dutch missionaries detect certain useful educational elements in the chinamwali (initiation ceremonies) among the Chewa as complementary to the western educational ethic of developing the whole person. The D.R.C.M. eventually succeeded in their efforts to adapt some aspects of chinamwali into the Christian system although without the accompanying Nyau.¹¹ Among the Yao of Mangochi (old Fort Johnston) it took the U.M.C.A. some strenuous effort in order to say prayers at the girls' secluded initiation camp under a big tree, something the chief ultimately permitted. This once more demonstrated the possibility of combining

initiation rites with western religious and educational aspects.¹²

However, parental fears of the likelihood of the social dislocation of their daughters were not without foundation. The social transformation emanating from western education created a difficult dilemma for girls; as Maliwa has aptly suggested, "western education removed women from the traditional order without enabling them fit easily into the new modern society... The result was despair, disenchantment and disillusionment...".¹³ The absence of varied career opportunities for the new society only made the situation worse as the girls' destiny was confined only to housewifery, low level teaching and nursing, despite women's potential to go up the appropriate higher academic rungs. This partly accounts for the alleged apathy of parents concerning their daughter's education.

The deadly factor characterising the educational system was the usual inadequacy of teachers. Female teachers were even more scarce and yet these, in fact, were considered indispensable in the promotion of girls' education from the elementary stages. The expressed desire was that the Native teaching staff should be adequate in number, in qualifications, and in character, and should include women.¹⁴ A common European belief for a long time described male teachers as biased for boys in a mixed class, the girls suffering inattention and shyness in the class. However, besides the numerical inadequacy, the poor quality of the female teachers for girls' schools simply perpetuated the vicious circle in which only very few women gained access to good educational and teacher training facilities. Apart from this, for a long time, higher primary educational programmes beyond Standard Three (Anglo-vernacular) were generally considered irrelevant to girls. Hence, at Blantyre, any pupil proceeding beyond the Anglo-vernacular grade went into a three year apprenticeship to a trade while carrying on to senior school for a Standard Six certificate, the highest qualification up to 1941. This situation automatically excluded girls, as in the case of Livingstonia.

Sources of Western Attitudes to Girls' Education

In truth, the general bias against African girls' education

simply reflected a fundamental problem in the pre-1914 European society.¹⁵ Western educators' allegation that "the majority of African men have disliked the idea of education for women"¹⁶ in fact lacked any example to the contrary in pre-1914 Britain. Kind to their women whom they cherished for chivalry and love, the British rated their ladies as intellectually inferior to men, "their intelligence adequately serving only domestic demands. Thinking, paid employment (other than certain factory and agricultural manual work), public and political life and professional jobs all formed a male monopoly"¹⁷ In reality no scientific proof confirmed the said low intellectual calibre of women; two latent explanations for this situation included men's fear of women's potential to take men's jobs, and of women's economic independence likely to make them more particular in the choice of husbands and less amenable to those they chose. Colonial education, therefore, had to reflect these values which naturally ruined the minds of 'educated' African men.

The African woman fared even worse than her European or British counterpart in the nineteenth century cult of social Darwinism which classified people's attainment according to race. In Malawi the expectations of an African's performance, particularly female, demonstrated what Harry Johnston called cranial capacity differences with Europeans.¹⁸

Years of Decision and Dilemma

In spite of some concerted missionary action to improve female education, the situation close to the Second World War still warned against an education that made girls "expensive luxuries as wives because they have been accustomed to clothes and furniture and a standard of living beyond the reach of their parents or the men whom they can expect to marry."¹⁹ Although Government increased its involvement in education, albeit mostly in a supervisory capacity, educational standards seemed to continue to be determined by the overwhelming missionary voice which capitalised on its enormous financial contribution towards a male-orientated education.²⁰

Just before the outbreak of the War measures taken to improve female education included the formation by the Director of Education, A.T. Lacey, of the Mponda Committee to look into this kind of education, in the hope that a "programme will be incepted based upon the recognition of the importance of the girl..."²¹ Unfortunately not much came out of this Committee comprising four female missionaries with no African representation. Government, however, consented to "give precedence" to girls' boarding schools and Normal Institutes for teacher training in its budget allocation.²² But the absence of proposals for higher female education stood as a major weakness of this development. Besides, as long as the critical shortage of female teachers continued, long term plans for the improvement of girls' education could not satisfy the demands for secondary or higher education. The inadequate supply of female English grade teachers for girls boarding schools, considered the recommended bastion of 'proper' education, impoverished the prospects for the production of female secondary school pupils from such poorly staffed institutions.

Close to the end of the Second World War the Post-War Development Plan for Malawi included an important statement in connection with girls' education:

The Committee cannot sufficiently emphasize the importance of bringing the education of girls and women up to, or approximately to, that of African men. Indeed the Committee has gone so far as to say there can be no real development in education unless the needs of girls and of women are met. The Committee are fully aware of the difficulties²³ attendant upon the education of girls and women...

But to enunciate a policy is different from its implementation when the hard realities have to be met. The state of African education remained in a depressing state. The proposed parity between boys and girls in schools represented a hard struggle. The Committee's awareness of the difficult problems facing girls' education was demonstrated in its endorsement of the Government's plan to invite female educationists from Britain to visit Malawi "with a view to settling the outlines upon

which female education should be conducted..."²⁴ But the task was not going to be easy, for any strategy for educational progress depended a great deal on teachers numbers which in fact seemed to be dwindling.²⁵

Africans often found the western concept of education, especially after the War, hard to understand in relation to girls because while provision for female education facilities tended to occupy a secondary place, just like the few African women did, the woman's position was different in Britain by the 1940's where she competed with men, with generally equal opportunity and chances of success. The African experience, however, has to be appraised in the light of the Church influence which, for a long time, with its male dominance, pervaded the educational system that confined African girls educational needs only to a process of an alienating socialisation in new environments.²⁶ Formal education for Muslim women was even more suppressed in conformity with the Koranic order that "men have more authority over women because Allah made the one superior to the other, and because they spend their wealth to maintain them."²⁷

Much was at stake for girls' education in Malawi and Africa as a whole. Areas for examination in any effort to improve female education needed to take into account various factors such as need for more money, increased education for women who would encourage their daughters to go to school, more European and African women teachers. Indigenous education had to be used to complement western education where possible, and provision made "for training African girls and women who can fill higher posts and take a leading part in the direction of their fellows and in the fashioning of future African life..."²⁸ The Advisory Committee on Education in the colonies based in London sounded convinced about the importance of getting African women to occupy positions in the Department of Education on the inspectorate, administrative, and teaching staffs. "In particular women should be appointed as soon as possible to senior posts in the Department".²⁹ Difference of views existed. In Malawi, although the suggestion for "equal pay for equal qualifications" received widespread acceptance, members of the local Advisory

Committee differed as to what aspects of girls' education required emphasis. Some of the Malawian members still believed in a practical rather than academic education which in this case would be confined to homecraft.³⁰ Missionaries continued to cherish such education even as late as 1946 because "the major importance of girls' education is in regard to the building up of Christian homes".³¹

Freda Gwilliam/Margaret Read Commission on Girls' and Womens' Education 1947

The visit of the Gwilliam-Read Commission in 1947 was important for a number of reasons. For the Government, missionaries and other parties interested in education in Malawi, it represented the materialization of long drawn effort to bring in educational advisors from H.M. Government. On the part of the Colonial Office the Commission was a demonstration of goodwill and concern in responding to colonial needs at a time of the restoration of confidence in the Empire. Besides all this, the Commission was in part a Colonial Office response to the concern expressed by the United Nations Commission on Status of Women appointed in June 1946 "to prepare recommendations and reports to the Economic and Social Council on promoting women's rights in political, economic, social and educational fields, and to make recommendations to the Council on urgent problems requiring immediate attention in the field of women's rights".³²

The choice of the two ladies was no accident for the exercise of appraising girls' education. Miss Gwilliam, Assistant Educational Advisor to the Secretary of State for the Colonies was no stranger to Africa. With her West African experience she could discuss African education with some confidence. Dr. Read, Head of the Colonial Department at the University of London's Institute of Education had visited Malawi three times earlier on anthropological researches among the Ngoni; this prior acquaintance with the country was sufficient for her suitability for the appointment. Besides the personal experience, Dr. Read's contacts prior to the assignment included eminent sociologists like J. Clyde Mitchell

whose work among the Yao of Malawi provided some useful insights about Yao girls' responses to western education.³⁴ Added to all this, Read represented a useful example to Malawians of what an educated woman could do in competition with men. The two women stood as something to be emulated. However, the choice of two highly educated spinsters to study girls' education in Malawi in itself stood as a frightening prospect in a society still holding onto a strong belief in marriage which, so it seemed to some, high education could replace. It therefore appeared to some Malawians for some time that a choice was necessary between low education for marriage and high education for spinsterhood.

In Malawi right from their arrival on 30th August 1947 to the completion of their task on 21st September³⁵ the two women followed a tight travelling schedule and interviewing many personalities in the field of education, including the Acting Governor. **Divergence of opinion on priorities strongly existed.** Chief Mwase pleaded for women's further training alongside that of men since "the whole work depended on women, and it was most important that women as well as men should be trained for leadership"³⁶; and the Commission's assurance placed accent on girls' education in an upward thrust for economic advancement rather than spreading horizontally; but Pretorius of the D.R.C.M. was quick to object and to propose a future system which paid more attention to women teachers and educated mothers, to the social rather than to the economic sphere. It was a clear indication of dislike of an education that promoted what Read called "economic independence"³⁷ for girls. Read's proposal for a training programme for both Malawian men and women at the London University's Institute of Education in preparation for their leadership roles after sharing ideas with Africans from other countries, was seen by some Missions as a threat to continued European leadership in the field of education in Malawi. Some felt that the proposed one-year training in London would not benefit Malawians, given their apparent deficiency in their educational background. It was the Scottish and Church of Christ Missionaries who chastised such pessimists.³⁸

From the meeting with Gwilliam and Read, African frustration with the educational system and the absence of progress towards an education for leadership was candidly expressed.³⁹ In general, therefore, members of the Advisory Committee on African Education seemed to be in agreement with leadership as the necessary keyword in educational development as propounded by the Gwilliam-Read Commission.

The Gwilliam-Read Report

The Report emphasized the urgent need for change of attitude towards girls' education on the part of both the educators and the Malawian parents. Welcome to most of its readers was the Report's mention of lack of economic incentives in Malawi at a time when African men wanted their girls to be trained as clerks and in other jobs instead of teaching, nursing and marriage only.⁴⁰ While the teaching profession relegated most women to the vernacular and domestic grades, nursing included anti-traditional elements like midwifery which in African society constituted an area exclusively for adult life and therefore mothers. To most Africans a mother qualified as an adult and not the reverse. Malawians wanted English to occupy a special place in the syllabus as it formed an indispensable gateway to success.⁴¹ This was one of the positive points of the Report. Besides, the Report stressed that need existed to encourage girls to proceed to Standard VI and get into English grade training which, as the national figures indicate,⁴² remained a boys' monopoly even as late as 1946. Apart from the poor conditions in many schools which defied the 1945 Ordinance regulations designed to reduce overcrowding beyond the stipulated maximum of 50 children per teacher, the Report condemned the slow rate of promotion of girls from one class to the next. Annual promotion through the Sub-Standards and Standards was rather the exception than the rule. This only prejudiced the chances of the already "overage" female pupils to stay on and complete the whole primary course.⁴³ The situation failed to stimulate girls to proceed quickly through junior and senior courses to get into

meaningful professional training or secondary school.⁴⁴

But the Report had some serious weaknesses. For example, in an attempt to link the backwardness of girls' education with labour emigration, the Report gave the impression of a heavily impoverished family situation in Malawi unable to afford school fees. In fact one positive aspect of labour migration was the migrant's mindfulness of his financial obligations towards his family back home which entailed periodic remittances.⁴⁵ Some of the foreign cultures they met indeed served as an incentive for them to send school fees and write encouraging letters to their daughters in school.⁴⁶

The recommendation to appoint a female Education Officer to take charge of the overall development of female education seemed plausible; but the stipulation to recruit a woman with interests and qualifications in Home Economics, not necessarily a university degree, suggested a replay of the old tune in the promotion of low level education. Government was urged to ensure proper qualifications and experience among European teachers for girls but, unfortunately, it seemed to be the general rule for most of these to be unmarried. And like the Commission members, the first recruit as Woman Education Officer, Barbara Moore, was indeed single. Some Malawian parents occasionally got wary of an education which might turn their daughters away from the strong traditional institution of marriage and threaten its props and prestige. Ambiguities were present in the Report because while obsessed with home economics and domestic science in the proposed curriculum, it also advocated widening the educational base to increase career opportunities for girls and encouragement to girls to get into secondary school. To achieve this, a remission of fees for girls was recommended for a 10-year period from 1948 for Standard II, although the proviso requiring the girl to be 11 years or under in Standard II in itself stood as a serious hurdle in a country with the majority of the school girls "overage". All in all, the Commission and its Report had demonstrated, with all the limitations, Colonial Office concern over colonial education for women and girls. But to what effect remained to be seen.

The Aftermath of the Gwilliam/Read Commission: Years of Faltering Hope.

The Commissions Report challenged all concerned parties in Malawi. For the Government the recommended increase in boarding grants for girls meant a strain on its coffers. To most missionaries a revised educational system for the promotion of leadership cut against the grain of an established principle which basically nurtured on African semi-literacy and subservience. For the Malawians a new attitude of hopeful progress in female education was expected, although this was only dependent on the first two factors above.

Back in London the Commissioners minced no words in depicting for the Colonial Office Africa Sub-Committee of the Advisory Committees on Education, a gloomy picture of the education in Malawi although less so in Zambia⁴⁷ where mass literacy campaigns and compulsory education in some parts of the Copperbelt for pupils aged 12-16 had yielded commendable results.

In Nyasaland, with 2½ million Africans reputed for exceptional intelligence, educational progress has been very slow, leading to an intense feeling of frustration and mistrust among the Africans, some of whom think that the Government lacks interest in their educational progress...⁴⁸

The Colonial Office expressed its concern in more dramatic terms; "after its prolonged discussions the Sub-Committee (of the Advisory Committee on Education) wishes to record that it has found the educational problems in Nyasaland unusually urgent and intractable; urgent because in spite of its long history and early promise, education has yielded such meagre results, intractable because, after years of discussion, Government has not succeeded in giving a firm direction of educational policy. We are impelled to contrast the neighbouring territory of Northern Rhodesia where educational development has been rapid and policy vigorous".⁴⁹ The situation was made worse by the heterogeneity of the nationalities of missionary organisations which threatened the maintenance of an ideal British (English) system of education.⁵⁰

The Colonial Office was wary of castigating the Nyasaland Government beyond the latter's endurance, and diplomatically suggested to gather more information on missionary societies in the country.

Although tangible results of the 1947 Commission may not be easy to assess, the post-1947 period witnessed some educational advance. The Director of Education's 1948 "Survey of Schools" designed to ^cacquire vital information of local educational facilities provided or required in the country ⁵¹ to promote the swiftest and surest line of advance, seemed an unquestionable positive step. The conclusions as to how the desired reforms could best be carried into effect, formed the basis of the Second Five Year Educational Plan 1950-54.

Miller, (Director of Education), believed that special effort should be made to meet educational needs of girls while the appointment of a woman Education Officer had to be effected as a matter of great urgency. ⁵² To this end, while Government was urged to join Missions in training teachers of the right calibre and desired numbers to facilitate a replacement of some of the Europeans in junior posts by Africans, for morale and economy, an additional co-educational secondary school and a Government co-educational Teacher Training College at Domasi Jeanes Training Centre were proposed. Perhaps the most interesting recommendation was the waiving of the age-limit rule for girls in the meantime, (1948).

Instituted to minimise wastage ⁵³ on the roll and indeed Government expenditure, and correct the deceptive picture of the performance of Mission schools with their high enrolment figures of little value for the assessment of progress in African education, the "age-limit" measure proved extremely devastating in the absence of birth certificates. Arbitrary age estimations often led to the expulsion of many aspiring boys and girls, the latter becoming affected as from 1951-52. The Governor, Edmund Richards, in a policy statement supported age-limits ⁵⁴ on pedagogical, psychological, but more, on economic grounds. ⁵⁵ Besides, the abruptness with which age-limits were enforced led to deep psychological misery to the unfortunate many, especially girls, whose late entry to schools

was just beyond their control. "Not unnaturally this has led to a sense of frustration and...of bitterness, which has been directed towards the mission in the case of those who have applied for entry into its schools for simple logic persuades the African that if a missionary says 'no', this is a mission and not a Government concern",⁵⁶ complained the U.M.C.A.

In the urgent face-lifting exercise to improve girls' education in Malawi, one of Education Director Miller's actions was the formation of a Local Committee with a membership from those engaged in female education "with a view to giving more encouragement to the education of women and girls".⁵⁷ But, though useful, the proposal had two major weaknesses calling for urgent remedy. By restricting this important Committee to the Southern Province (or Region) the Director⁵⁸ kept out potential contributions from educators in the Centre (D.C.R.M. and Catholics) and North (Livingstonia Mission). Secondly, the initial absence of African representation rendered the Committee's credibility questionable in terms of its ability to fully discuss and understand African girls' education. The matter after discussion led to a decision to elect four Africans to be increased eventually to numerical parity⁵⁹ with Europeans. However, despite these shortcomings, this limited Committee did at its first meeting transact useful business related to its terms of reference, with the blessings of the Director of Education. Recognising not only the limited job openings for girls but also the attraction of more colourful and remunerative work as clerks than as lowly-paid teachers or nurses, the Committee suggested a publicity campaign of girls' careers, the major attraction of which lay in the proposal that girls who failed Standard Six but wished to become teachers would be allowed into the teacher training programme on which, during the first year, they would be allowed to rewrite the Standard Six examination. But at no time did the Committee and the Director of Education ever consider the danger of recruiting into the teaching profession girls without aptitude or interest except the desire to repeat the Standard Six examination as the major consideration.

However, notwithstanding the reforms effected after the Gwilliam/

Read Commission in Malawi and the other territories in the region, the educational situation still failed to satisfy the Colonial Office. Hence the Binns Commission to East and Central Africa.

The Binns (Nuffield) Commission, 1951, and Female Education.

The Binns Commission was a demonstration of the continued failure by the Colonial Office at definite policy formulation. In fact for the simple reason that female education occupied a significant place in the Binns Report⁶⁰ in itself underlined the failure of the conservative Gwilliam/Read Report to fully convince the Colonial Office about existing problems and possible solutions.

It would of course be wrong to suggest that the Gwilliam/Read Commission was simply wasted money and time in terms of its influence on the educational scene in Malawi. Perhaps the best testimony comes from the Director of Education in his summary⁶¹ of developments 1947-1951 in preparation for the Binns Commission's visit to Malawi. Miller, while admitting lack of significant changes in certain areas like emigration of male labour, as it affected education, cited examples of evident improvement which included the reduction of age for school girls, continued general interest in education among educated Africans and the growing interest among Malawian women to participate in adult classes designed also to take in over-age girls, and public life. Several senior primary schools were now co-educational in all Standards although a lot of indifference existed among many rural parents to send girls to school. From Miller's comments a good deal of attention had gone towards the implementation of the 1947 Report on female education, and yet the achievements fell below the expected levels, as the Binns Commission was able to uncover.

In its opening remarks in the chapter on female education the Binns Report once again emphasized the need for "revolutionary change of attitude towards the education of women and girls",⁶² since a balanced development of the society would only stem from the complementary contributions of the men and women at a time when many African women demonstrated readiness to join European efforts "in the education, training and emancipation of African women generally"⁶³ in an environment where female education lagged

seriously behind that of men. The Binns Commission therefore raised hopes for a formula to rectify the deplorable imbalance. But even a high-powered Commission of this type still seemed swayed by the concept of mass education as the desired method to elevate the mass of women still living in the country areas.⁶⁴ However, the Commission's recognition of the need for an education suitable to fit the women in a world of social change suggested an implicit commitment in its search for swift answers to the known and unknown needs. Significant in the Report was the mention of the need for men to grapple with the fact of the resultant economic independence for women in any increased employment opportunities; this was a situation which even some of the European educators frowned upon as the erosion of male authority and control. Europeans in Malawi did not even consider the white Woman Education Officer as their equal both in pay and status in spite of the often equal work and accompanying discomfort. Sometimes "the senior expatriate woman may be used in her specialist capacity but her advice is sometimes neither taken or sought on matters in which she is competent".⁶⁵

The Commission's conviction charged Europeans with the task of providing the necessary example to Africans which never seemed forthcoming. Africans had to emulate Europeans to appreciate western education.⁶⁶ This, in most cases, encouraged the already-cited male chauvinism among the 'educated' male Africans. Progress needed some equality of opportunity between men and women on jobs, training and other situations. "The men must...abandon the claim that women and girls are by the laws of God and nature inferior beings, entitled to less food, consideration and training than men and boys".⁶⁷

Among other factors still hindering girls' education, the Report reiterated the most important three as poor teaching, a curriculum unrelated the girls' need and, indeed, general absence of recognition "of the importance and value of educating girls both for themselves and for the benefit of the community".⁶⁸ But although girls had to be encouraged, say, by the suggested bursaries from Standard I onwards in toto or in part, no soft options for them

were necessary which might dilute their academic achievement. All in all, for what it was worth, the Binns Report introduced nothing significantly new in the field of female education. Its emphasis on the need for girls to attend secondary school was undermined by its advocacy of homecraft from a conviction that, for many years to come, almost every girl can look forward to marriage as her career whether she has qualified for another or not; hence the accent on domestic science. The actual impact of the high-powered Commission in changing colonial education still had to be seen.

Aftermath of the Binns Commission and the Post-1953 Period

Notwithstanding all its weaknesses the Binns Commission set Government and the Missions to embark on a soul-searching exercise. Although the Director of Education at this time entertained no special inclination to treat girls' education as a desperately separate issue in a country with the great majority of schools co-educational, the matter warranted more consideration to strengthen the case for the recruitment of a second Woman Education Officer⁶⁹ to give momentum to female education. Missions too expressed a desire to move along. Livingstonia was proposing a big girls' school to cater for the whole Mission zone, a plan curtailed only by finance.⁷⁰ Livingstonia was willing to encourage the girls' school system, a change of policy, along the lines of Blantyre Girls' School or the Kapeni Women Teachers' College. But the old fundamental differences between Livingstonia and Blantyre regarding female education generally persisted because, while the former saw co-education in the northern region as a healthy and useful socialization process,⁷¹ since it encouraged competition between boys and girls, the latter continued to hold opposite views. This variance of opinion resulted from a general and traditional difference of opinion between the two Missions on several matters pertaining to their perception of the social systems of the local people. Livingstonia's stance on co-education enjoyed official support.⁷² Livingstonia argued for an education capable of banishing the girls' inferiority complex through a demonstration of their potential in the competition with boys. This partly explains Livingstonia's

lack of enthusiasm for the establishment of Blantyre Women's College for English grade teacher training for girls from almost all Protestant Missions.

Blantyre Women's College

Although the idea of this Protestant College pointed to a breakthrough in the training of female English grade teachers, Livingstonia still failed to share the positive conviction about education on sex lines. Distance partly accounted for Livingstonia's objections to the College idea⁷³ but the more fundamental problem remained one of principle. Livingstonia's concept of a girls' (boarding) school implied residential rather than classroom accommodation which had to be shared with boys. Blantyre held a different approach, which it claimed promoted good academic performance for girls in examinations and enhanced self-confidence. Blantyre was of course outspoken particularly in matters affecting Government decisions. For example it was Blantyre which as early as 1945 was urging Government to "ultimately accept responsibility for the free primary education of the juvenile African population,... assuming full control and entire financial responsibility" while backing up the African education Advisory Committee's advocated principle of "equal pay for equal work" irrespective of sex in order to encourage women's choice of the teaching profession.⁷⁴ But Blantyre's uncompromising stand on girls' schools delineated the occasional position of irreconcilable differences with Livingstonia which led to vendettas that only delayed girls' education as in the case of Blantyre Women's Teachers' College, later known as Kapeni.

However, such differences were by no means restricted to the two Scottish sister Missions and to co-education alone. For example, even as late as 1955, the Church of Scotland at Blantyre did not totally consider the U.M.C.A. as a spiritually good partner in collaborated educational ventures although probably less so than did the D.R.C.M. At the establishment of the Women's Training College in Blantyre in the mid-1950's Nkhoma (D.R.C.M.) objected to the creation of a Board of Governors for the College which might

eventually appoint an Anglican Principal, and weaken the Christian character of the institution. In fact, the Women's Training Centre, though approved by the strong Nyasaland Christian Council as a non-Roman Centre for the country, almost failed to take off the ground as the D.R.C.M.'s opposition to the creation of a Board of Governors, and a squabble over the site of the College almost wrecked the project; Livingstonia wanted it established at Loudon or Lilongwe (D.R.C.M.).⁷⁵

The issue of Women's Training College provided a most clear illustration of the contribution of missionary disagreements to the underdevelopment of female education in Malawi. The need for such a non-Catholic College was clear but any move to have a Board of Governors with Government representatives created differences among Missions, with the D.R.C.M. as a leading voice of dissent to any such idea.⁷⁶ Besides, apart from its conviction for co-education Livingstonia's opposition to the location of such a College at Blantyre Mission only seemed aimed against Blantyre's predominance supported by the Nyasaland Christian Council. Livingstonia's preference for Loudon in the North clearly showed the generally lukewarm relations between the two Scottish Missions.⁷⁷ If Loudon was not acceptable then the D.R.C.M. should build the College and run it in Lilongwe, according to Livingstonia, a central place of likely strong "Christian" influence accessible from both Blantyre and Livingstonia.⁷⁸ As some Africans charged, missionaries represented the worst culprits in delaying education, because of the described differences in conviction and approach. Female education, as demonstrated, suffered immensely to a point which provoked a strong statement from the Africa Secretary of the Church of Scotland in 1949: "more girls' schools which mean more specially trained women teachers is a priority even if some of the boys' education has to suffer."⁷⁹ But the success of this suggested approach depended on the availability of more funds for the extension of girls' educational facilities and the goodwill of the missionaries on the spot in Malawi.

The Federation Period 1953-61

According to the Nyasaland Times commentary on the Binns Commission and female education, the African woman's potential remained to be developed into full blossom;⁸⁰ a challenge which educational policy-makers, both in Britain and Malawi, did not seem to succeed in satisfying. It was partly this picture which led to the Colonial Office idea of a Conference of Education of Women and Girls early in 1953 for field staff on leave in Britain. The Conference aimed at emphasizing the need for "the unity of the education service regardless of the agencies providing the facilities, to keep in touch with United Kingdom educational developments in general and with certain specific aspects in particular."⁸¹ Although the Conference was not elaborate, that it was conceived and organised specially to discuss female educational matters in the colonies is of significance. It provided a forum for appeals from colonial educators for sympathy towards African girls' education.⁸² In fact the timing of the launching of the periodical, African Woman, in London University's Institute of Education must have developed from the spirit of the Conference.⁸³

That the Colonial Office was impatient to speed up female education in Malawi in the 1950's can be seen from the fact that a few years after the 1953 Conference, in 1956, Freda H. Gwilliam, of the Gwilliam/Read Commission into Womens and Girls' Education, 1947, returned to Malawi to 'advise us on what further steps can be taken to improve the education of women and girls'.⁸⁴

But the developments in the 1950's related to the female education ought to be seen also as a reaction to prevailing African pressures in Malawi; this factor more than any other was significant in provoking the Colonial Office responses this time. The political development of the mid-1950's which witnessed the arrival into the Nyasaland Legislative Council of young Malawians in 1956 was significant. In reply to a question by an African member, referring specifically to the still deplorable state of female education, Government was at pains to reveal its plans for not only to bring Gwilliam again but

also^{to} engage two additional female Education Officers and pay more attention to the allocation of capital grants towards female education.⁸⁵ This plan clearly became necessary to set fresh strategies in education, particularly in the light of the uncommendable performance during the first three/four years of the Federal period. In fact a candid report by the Director of Education in 1956 revealed girls' enrolment ^{as} ~~of~~ only 33 per cent of the total.⁸⁶ The 1957-61 Education Plan was envisaged to change this horrid imbalance.

But the Plan could not have been less conservative than those already gone with regard to female education. For girls' education, equality of opportunity was an impossible dream at a time when girls constituted only one third of the total school enrolment. It is indeed correct that the blame had to be shared with African parents whom by 1956 African members of the Legislative Council had vowed to persuade to send their girls to school. But the fact that even as late as 1956 most parents still failed to see the value of girls' education was a sad commentary on educators' inability to spread the "good news" about female education. The obsession with Domestic Science as perhaps the most important skill for acquisition by girls at the expense of other useful ones like agriculture and rural science, which remained a boys' monopoly in a country where men and women worked side by side in the agricultural industry,⁸⁷ weakened educational efforts. Girls needed the development of their intellectual powers and technical skills as much as boys, something Tanganyika tried to do.⁸⁸

By the mid-1950's people from various walks of life were assessing the impact of female education on family and national life. Although most praised the strides so far, others, especially in the missionary camp were still condemning it as a source of loosening moral sanctions, marital infidelity, ^{un} wholesome and indiscriminate sexual behaviour generated by the female independence of choice and economic means which did not necessarily tie the girls to married life; the general self-discovery of the educated woman threatened the age-old male dominance.

However, enticing sufficient girls to school continued to be difficult. Female teachers preferred in this exercise were still very few. The launching, though rather tentatively, of the Unified Teaching Service in 1958 was partly an attempt to attract more women into teaching by improving their conditions of service. Prior to U.T.S., married women teachers received "dismissal" to go for maternity leave which made the teaching profession extremely precarious for women since their re-engagement could not be guaranteed. U.T.S. stipulated half pay for teachers on maternity leave. It therefore seemed that the period 1957/8 to 1961 formed a time of positive anticipation in female education. But it was also a period of so many trials and errors in an attempt to produce tangible educational results before the Federal Review Conference scheduled for 1960.⁸⁹ The period 1958-61 was marked not only by the demands of the M.L.C.'s but also by the unexpected vocal representations by groups like the Nyasaland Council of Women, originally formed to promote European interests, which pressed Government for the increase and improvement of female educational facilities.⁹⁰ The changed tenor of their contacts with Government officials and members of the Legislative Council is illustrated in the following extract, protesting against Government policy to support only 60 places a year for trainee women teachers in both Catholic and non-Catholic Teacher Training Colleges:

Our protest...was that Government has made provision for an output of only 30 women teachers per year for all non-Catholic Missions in Nyasaland. This protest still holds.⁹¹

The Phillips Commission 1960, and Female Education

Among the Phillips Commission's most devastating comments on a colonial education focussed on female education. Of even more interest is perhaps the repetition by the Phillips Commission of the same old hindrances to female education featuring both Government and Missions as the major accomplices in the general promotion of a state of under-development;⁹² this sometimes reflected lack of innovativeness still evidenced for example, in the poor distribution of schools often encouraged by religious chauvinism⁹³

which entailed wastage.

In comparative terms the Phillips Report revealed a measure of progress⁹⁴ which, however, failed to offset the failure to match educational needs with the growing population in Malawi. Considered from this angle the performance of the Department of Education was aptly described by the Phillips Report as "slipping slowly backwards".⁹⁵ The Commission placed a strong emphasis on "the expansion of secondary education as the most important part of a development programme".⁹⁶ To this type of education,⁹⁷ especially as it affected girls, this discussion must now turn.

Secondary Education

When Blantyre Secondary School opened in 1941 consideration of girls' access to that academic level seemed almost unnecessary. Although Blantyre was tantalisingly planned as co-educational, the joke was the total absence of any female pupils until after the War, in 1947.⁹⁸ And the first two girls to join Blantyre Secondary School in that year, in fact, seemed an unwelcome addition to the 50 boys, as no accommodation was available for them since this co-educational school had only boys' dormitories. It was perhaps the most demoralizing, definitely unattractive situation where girls had to share primary school hostel accommodation at the neighbouring Blantyre Girls' School of the Church of Scotland; one of the girls was able to pass her Junior Certificate, the first ever, in 1948 along with 18 boys out of 21 candidates.⁹⁹ The absence of girls' hostels five years after the inauguration of this co-educational institution stands out as testimony to the poor attitude of all concerned towards female secondary and higher education in Malawi. In West Africa secondary schools taking in women started in the nineteenth century. In East Africa, Alliance High School for Protestants was founded around 1926, while Tabora Secondary School in Tanganyika started in 1930.¹⁰⁰ Malawi therefore lagged terribly behind in the introduction of female secondary education at Blantyre.

The joining of Blantyre Secondary School by the first two girls

in 1947 coincided with the Gwilliam/Read Commission on female education. One interesting comment about female secondary education in that Commission's Report was the reiteration of Matinga's proposal to send girls outside the country¹⁰¹ instead of emphasizing the urgent need to develop the necessary secondary school facilities in the country. It was indeed useful for the Report to stipulate that "every encouragement should be given to girls who pass Standard Six at an early age to go on to secondary education as a prelude to further professional or technical training",¹⁰² and yet uttering the statement was easier than its implementation, particularly when the Standard Six female output remained deplorable.¹⁰³

In retrospect the 1947 Commission's views went through a crisis, leading to contradiction of purpose. For example while apparently encouraging female secondary education, it opposed the establishment of a second co-education secondary school in Lilongwe,¹⁰⁴ at the centre of the country, proposed by Government to reduce hazards of distance for girls from the North who, even if deserving of a place, could not easily contemplate the long dangerous journey to Blantyre on very poor roads. Instead Gwilliam and Read recommended for Lilongwe, a Government "modern co-educational (primary) school with boarding facilities"¹⁰⁵ to serve as a model of the ideal. And yet the claim, made as the intention of the Commission as such, bears a note of difference:

I think behind our ideas as we went out was the consciousness that the people in those two countries (Zambia and Malawi) were going to expand and have further opportunities of every kind and that it would be very disastrous if the whole of the women's group in that progress was always dragging behind, and that the women, we believed, could be educated in school and university and hold senior teachers' posts and, therefore, inspectors' posts as well as men, if only given the opportunity. It was a kind of faith in the future.¹⁰⁶

What emerges clearly is a muddled conception of the ways to enhance the realization of the African girls' educational needs and their

attainment.

The gloomy position about female secondary education continued and by 1949 there were only six girls, increasing to 7 in 1951, at Blantyre Secondary School. So long as no convincing salesmanship existed for girls to develop a burning ambition for post-primary education the trend would continue. Girls' education still denoted preparation of future wives, as the 1951 Binns Commission still felt.¹⁰⁷

Although between 1950 and 1956 eight junior Mission secondary schools had been opened, two co-educational and two for mainly Catholic girls, the ratio in 1956 was one girl to five boys as compared to 1950 when it was one to forty-six or 3 girls to 139 boys in school.¹⁰⁸ The position often failed to check wastage of available places for girls, on religious grounds. However, Government plans to achieve a ratio of one girl to three boys included the building of a Girls Senior Secondary School in Lilongwe (1961), a Government co-education school at Mzuzu (1959) with half of the places designated for girls and indeed half of the places in the Higher School Certificate at Dedza Secondary School for girls, although no girls ever went to Dedza! The plan sounded solid but its successful execution, in all demanding £1,020,000,¹⁰⁹ was still to be seen.

The number of junior secondary schools by 1960 increased but the desired levels were still awaited for the advancement of girls' education.¹¹⁰ Even as late as 1962, the number of female candidates for the Cambridge School Certificate¹¹¹ was extremely negligible, with none for the Higher School Certificate. This situation explains the absence, for some time, of post-secondary female professionals¹¹² or university graduates and which formed an uphill struggle for the new African Government of Malawi.

In conclusion, the history of female education in Malawi is

as a tale of neglect by the educators to whom boys as potential 'leaders' deserved the best. This, combined with religious bigotry of Missions, disillusion among many parents and lack of proper foresighted planning and control by Government, resulted in an educational system which made the female a second class citizen in terms of her potential contribution to the country's development, an assumption which the African Government of Malawi was to prove wrong. The major problem to get out of the way was the in-built belief that African women would always be the beasts of burden tied to the land for subsistence food production or for performing other menial tasks¹¹³ while men formed the decision-making elite cadres, a situation calling for urgent change¹¹⁴ of men's attitudes.

Footnotes to Chapter V

Education for African Girls

1. D.J.H...., "Intelligence and training", Central Africa: A Record of the Work of the U.M.C.A. Vol LIX, 1941 p. 30.
2. Ibid. p. 30.
3. Nyasaland Government: A Plan for Educational Development 1957/61, p. 3.
4. Op cit p. 30. Some of the material in this chapter appeared in I.C. Lamba "African Women's Education in Malawi 1875-1952", J.E.A.H. Vol XIV No. 1 (Jan 1982).
5. See a similar South African situation in Deborah Gaitskell, "Housewives, maids or Mothers: Some Contradictions of Domesticity for Christian Women in Johannesburg", Paper presented S.O.A.S., Sept 1981, Conference on "History of the Family in Africa".
6. Margaret Read, The Ngoni of Nyasaland, passim; also interview Prof. Margaret Read (aged 94) with author in London, 11th June 1982.
7. L.J. Lewis (ed), Phelps Stokes Report on Education in Africa (O.U.P., London 1962) p. 191. Hereinafter cited as Lewis, Phelps Stokes Report.
8. Amelia Nyasa Laws, daughter to Robert Laws, who became a medical doctor in Edinburgh, Scotland, confirmed this view about her father. I am grateful to Prof. George Shepperson for this information.
9. See E.N. Maliwa, "Legal Status of Women in Malawi from Pre-Colonial Period to Independence-1964" (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, London University 1970) p. 177. Hereinafter, Maliwa, "Legal Status of Women...".
10. A.G. Fraser, "Education and Responsibility...".
11. For sources on Nyau institution see Introductory Chapter, footnote 6.
12. Mkope Hill Notes, Nyasaland Diocese Chronicle, (Dec 1953) Also see Pauline Pretorius, "An Attempt at Christian Initiation in Nyasaland", I.R.M. Vol 39 (1950) pp 284-291.
13. Maliwa, "Legal Status of Women...", p. 176.
14. See Advisory Committee on Native Education in British

Footnotes to Chapter V (Cont'd)

14. (Cont'd) African Dependencies, Education Policy in British Tropical Africa (H.M.S.O., London 1925) pp 3-8.
15. See R.J. Mason, British Education in Africa (O.U.P., London 1959) esp. ch. 6. Hereinafter Mason, British Education. An analysis of the British situation is by Rosemary Deem, Women and Schooling (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London 1978) esp. cha. 2, 3, 4 and 5. Hereinafter Deem, Women and Schooling.
16. Mason, British Education... p. 105
17. See Lamba, "African Women's Education..." p. 49. An illuminating analysis of British attitudes is by H. Alan C. Cairns, Prelude to Imperialism: British Reactions to Central Africa Society 1840-1890 (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London 1965). Hereinafter Cairns, Prelude...
18. See M.M. Mapuranga, "'Evolution' as a basis of colonial administrative ideology: the case of Malawi in the era of H.H. Johnston 1891-1896", M.J.S.S. Vol 6 (1977) pp 109-120.
19. Oldham & Gibson, The Remaking of Man in Africa esp. ch. II.
20. Oldham & Gibson, Remaking of Man, p. 98.
21. Ed Dep Rep 1931, p. 15.
22. Minutes of the Advisory Committee on Education, 1934 p. 3, (MNA, Zomba).
23. Post-War Dev Rep pp 49-50.
24. Post-War Dev Rep p. 49
25. In a country with a population of 2,140,000 (1942) (481,600 boys and 441,300 girls) the 1942 return showed a total of 173,692 pupils with an average attendance of 123,083 at school. The number of teachers in training was 608 as compared with 688 in 1941; and the number of certified teachers fell from 1210 in 1941 to 1180 in 1942. Ed Dep Rep 1942.
26. See for example, M. Graham-Harrison, "Schools for Women in the Copperbelt", The Col Rev Vol I (June 1940) pp 165-166, based on an article entitled "Work for Women in the Copperbelt" in The South African Outlook, (Jan 1st, 1940).

Footnotes to Chapter V (Cont'd)

27. Quoted from the Koran, (translated with notes by N.J. Dawood (Harmondsworth, 1978 ed)), e: 34 p. 370, by Susan E. Marshall and Randall G. Stokes, "Tradition under the Veil: Female Status in Tunisia and Algeria", J.M.A.S. Vol 19 No. 4 (Dec 1981) p. 633.
28. "Women's Education and Welfare in Africa" Col Rev Vol III (Dec 1943) p. 115 - condensed from an article in Overseas Education, July 1943.
29. Ibid. p. 116.
30. Mr. E.K. Gondwe wanted to see a female education "more practical and leading to wider and more varied opportunities of employment" which Miss Mary Lowe interpreted as suggesting a homecraft orientation! Minute 3 "Mins of the First Meeting of the Advisory Committee on African Education", Zomba 18.6.46, CO 525/202/44070/6 (1947) (PRO, London).
31. Report: U.M.C.A. Annual Review 1946 p. 25.
32. Quoted in Telegram 25102/12/47, Secretary of State for the Colonies to Governor of Nyasaland, 2nd August 1947: File 64/02/03 "United Nations Commission on the Status of Women" Secretariat Dept. Box 4169 (MNA, Zomba).
34. See "Some Notes on Sociological factors influencing women's and girls' education in Nyasaland, and some proposals ", attached to Read to Miss Smith, 9th Sept 1945; K. Gray to Director of Education, Zomba, Ref 9/47/KG dated 2nd June 1947; J. Clyde Mitchell to K. Gray, 11th March 1947; J. Clyde Mitchell to Prof. Notcutt, 11th March 1947 all on File 47/8 Box 3527 "Girls' Education - Correspondence" (MNA).
35. Details in Ed Dep Rep 1947 p. 4.
36. Mins of the Special Meeting of the Advisory Committee of African Education, 16th Sept 1947 CO 525/202/44070/6/47. p. 4.
37. Ibid. p. 5.
38. Ibid. p. 3.
39. Ibid. p. 3. This was a view expressed by Mr. Charles Matinga.

40. Ibid. p. 2.

41. Ibid. p. 2.

42. Output of Women Teachers

English Grade	1943 - 1	Vernacular Grade	1942 - 11
	1944 - 1		1943 - 30
	1945 - 2		1944 - 29
	1946 - 3		1945 - 28
			1946 - 29

Source: Gwilliam/Read Report p. 3.

43. Gwilliam/Read Report p. 4.

44. Ibid. p. 4.

Girls' Standard Six Examination Results (for the whole country).

<u>Year</u>	<u>Entries</u>	<u>Passes</u>
1942	0	0
1943	2	1
1944	3	0
1945	1	0
1946	6	4
1947	18	3

45. Margaret Read's ideas on migrant labour are amplified in her article "Migrant Labour in Africa and its Effects on Tribal Life". International Labour Review Vol XIV No. 6 (June 1942) pp 604-631.

46. The father of the author's wife, during his time in South Africa as a migrant, always sent her all the necessary money and articles required in school.

47. See Mins of the Advisory Committee on Education: Africa Sub-Committee, 19th Feb 1948 C0525?203/44070/10 (P.R.O.).

48. Ibid.

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid. The Catholic Missions included nationalities such as British, Canadian, Dutch, French, Italian, Belgian and a few others. Sometimes language problems existed even between the Catholic Orders themselves, depending on the countries of origin.

51. Ed Dep Rep. 1948 p. 3.

52. Ed Dep Rep. 1948 p. 3.

53. Primary Schools - Wastage

			<u>1948</u>			<u>1949</u>		
			<u>Roll</u>		<u>Roll</u>	<u>Total Wastage</u>	<u>Wastage%</u>	
Sub Standard A		31985	to Sub Std B		24923	7062	22	
Standard B		24188		Std I	9812	14376	60	
Standard I		10415		II	5619	4796	46	
"	II	5588	"	III	3924	1664	29	
"	III	3817	"	IV	1176	2641	71	
"	IV	1059	"	V	835	224	21	
"	V	820	"	VI	559	261	31	

Source: Ed Dep Rep. 1949 p. 15.

54. Age limits:

Sub Standard A - 9 years
Standard I - 13 years
Standard IV - 18 years

Source: Ed Dep Rep. 1949 p. 12.

55. Opening address by H.E. Governor Edmund G. Richards, Mins of the Meeting of the Advisory Committee on African Education, 23rd Nov 1949, C0525/202/44070/6 (1948). Age limits for girls as from 1951/52 were also supported by the Southern Province Committee on Women's and Girls' Education. See Min 5 of their meeting on 28th Oct 1949, File AFR 307 "Female Education General". Box 145 (MNA, Zomba).

56. "Education for What?", Central Africa, Vol LXVIII No. 805 (Jan 1950) p. 4.

57. See D.S. Miller, Director of Education to various missions running girls' education - (in the Southern Region), 12th October 1949, ref AFR 309/49, Box 145, (MNA, Zomba).

58. Ibid.

59. See Mins of the first meeting of the Committee formed to discuss matters pertinent to the education of women and girls in the Southern Province, Jeanes Training Centre, 28th October 1949. File AFR 307 "Female Education General", Box 145 (MNA, Zomba).

60. Binns Report, ch. 18.

61. D.S. Miller, "Education of Women and Girls in Nyasaland 1947-51; The Report made by Miss Gwilliam and Dr. Read is taken point by point", File "Gen. 956: Education Review of Foreign Policy" (MNA, Zomba).

62. Binns Report, Ch. 18 p. 107.

Footnotes to Chapter V (Cont'd)

63. Ibid. p. 107.
64. Ibid. p. 108.
65. Ibid. p. 108.
66. Ibid. p. 108.
67. Extract from Col. F.L. Brayne's notes, The Col Rev Vol 7 1951, p. 108.
68. Binns Report, p. 111.
69. Director of Education to Chief Secretary 31.1.51 on Agenda and Minutes of Advisory Committee on African Education. File AFR 307 MP 14228, "Female Education General", Box 245 (MNA, Zomba).
70. Mins Livingstonia Mission Council 14th Feb 1951 Acc 7548 297B File 4/1 (N.L.S., Edinburgh).
71. Interview with Miss Helen Taylor, 23rd Nov 1981, Edinburgh. Miss Taylor worked in Livingstonia Mission for about 30 years from 1933 to 1964, and during this time holding various positions which included the Principalship of the Livingstonia Teacher Training College, and also London Teacher Training College.
72. A.G. Fraser, Acting Director of Education to Dr. Hope Trant, Tunduma, Tanganyika, 12th Sept 1949: Ref General 823/49 File AFR 307, "Female Education General" Box 145 (MNA, Zomba).
73. Mins Livingstonia Mission Council 22nd Feb 1953 at Loudon. (N.L.S., Edinburgh ACC 7548 297B File 4/1) Appendix A.
74. Mins Blantyre Mission Council 17-18 Jan 1945 (N.L.S., Edinburgh ACC 7548 330B File 10/1).
75. Women's Training College, Blantyre. Points raised by Misses Jessie Campbell and Helen Taylor. File 3.2.56 ACC 7548 N.L.S Catalogue 418B.
76. Rev. S. Green to Miss Betty Walls, 12.3.55 ACC 7548 418B N.L.S.
77. Interview with Rev. Neil Bernard on 24.11.81 in Edinburgh.
78. Footnote 70 Supra.

Footnotes to Chapter V (Cont'd)

79. J.A.T. Beattie, "The Churches' Part Today in African Education", Conference on Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland, December 1949.
80. Nyasaland Times, June 18th 1953.
81. "Conference on Education of Women and Girls", File 26 Girls Education-General Correspondence, Box 3527 (MNA, Zomba).
82. Appeals similar to that of Miss M.F.E. Pelham Johnson, "Girls' Education in Tanganyika: Speech at the Anniversary" in Central Africa Vol LXXII No. 861 Sept 1954, pp 211-215.
83. African Women Vol I Dec 1954 No. 1.
84. Acting Director of Education to Chief Secretary (Zomba) Ref 5/10/8, 13th Sept 1956, File SMP 11437 "Education of Women and Girls", Box 8106 (MNA, Zomba).
85. In 1955 out of the raised £8,000 capital grant £3,000 was earmarked for girls' and women's schools. Ibid.
86. Plan for Education 1957-1961. p. 4.
87. Prof. Lalage Bown, now Professor of Adult and Continuing Education at Glasgow University cherishes her experiences in the carpentry class at school which unfolded for her a world of positive competition with boys and ambition. Interview with Lalage Bown 15th May 1982, Glasgow. Also see G.M. Roddan, "The Key is Woman", Overseas Quarterly, (March 1958) pp 11-12.
88. Sisters of a C.S.P. School, "African Schoolgirls in Tanganyika. Our African Schoolgirls of today are the African Women of Tomorrow" African Women Vol 1 No. 2 (June 1957), p. 31.
89. An important document for this purpose was the Jack Report, 1959.
90. See for example Hon Sec. (Mrs. M. Fiddes) Blantyre/Limbe Branch N.C.W. to Hon Michael Blackwood, March 1958, File 2/2/6/8 Nyasaland Council of Women. Box 8108 (MNA, Zomba).
91. Ibid.
92. Phillips Report pp 55-58, 87-88.

Footnotes to Chapter V (Cont'd)

93. In Karonga there were 10,000 school places available for only 2,850 children as Catholics spread fast to swamp the old established Livingstonia Mission Schools.

94. Girls' Enrolment: Source: Phillips Report, p. 56.

	<u>Primary</u>		<u>Secondary</u>		<u>Training Colleges</u>		<u>Vocational Institution</u>	
	<u>1955</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1955</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1955</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1955</u>	<u>1960</u>
Government								
Schools	119	1339	-	32	-	-	-	-
Aided Schools	33117	51077	35	170	141	235	-	61
Unaided	<u>54526</u>	<u>50005</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>207</u>
	87762	102419	41	258	146	246	18	268

95. Ibid. p. 60.

96. Ed Dep Rep 1963 p. 5.

97. Movement from Primary Standard Six to Form One. See Appendix VIII.

98. Ed Dep Rep 1947 p. 13.

99. Ed Dep Rep 1948 p. 10.

100. See Maliwa, op. cit pp 333-335.

101. "Education in Nyasaland compared with Southern Rhodesia and South Africa" Col Rev Vol III (June 1943) p. 54. Condensed from "The Times Educational Supplement", Jan 16th 1943.

102. Gwilliam/Read Report p. 7.

103. Education Circular No. 37 of 1949, Director of Education to Education Secretaries, Principals of Girls' Boarding Schools and Education Officers, 16.11.1949. File AFR 307 Box 145 (MNA, Zomba).

104. See Freda H. Gwilliam and Margaret Read, "Comments on on Nyasaland Secondary Education Report" (Confidential) to Director of Education as appendix to 1947 Report: Ref Ed 7/39 File AFR 314 397/48 Box 146 (MNA, Zomba).

105. Ibid.

106. Interview with Prof. Margaret Read aged 94 in London, 11th June 1982. Prof. Read died a few months afterwards.

Footnotes to Chapter V (Cont'd)

107. Binns Report p. 110.
108. Plan for Educational Development 1957/61 pp 5-6.
109. Ibid. p. 6.
110. Secondary School Enrolment, 1960 - See Appendix VI.
111. Number of Candidates : Cambridge Examinations

	School Certificate					Higher School Certificate				
	School		External		Total	School		External		Total
	M	F	M	F	S.C.	M	F	M	F	HSC
1962	230	32	47	-	313	16	-	-	-	16

The conspicuous absence of any girls in the higher school certificate class automatically excluded them from university education.

Source: Ed Dep Rep 1963 p. 36.

112. Roseby Kazembe was the first Malawian girl to pass the Cambridge school Certificate examinations, in 1953; she later proceeded to Bath College, England, for a Domestic Science diploma. See Maliwa, op. cit p. 337.
113. See Isla Bunbury, "Women's Position as Workers in Africa South of the Sahara", Civilizations Vol II, 1961 pp 159-167.
114. In Madagascar changing attitude of men has been portrayed by Madame R.R. Andriamanjato, a Malagasy Public Works Engineer in Tananarive, in her "Women in the Church and in Society", I.R.M. Vol 61 1972, pp 166-176.

CHAPTER VI

SECULAR EDUCATION FOR AFRICAN MUSLIMS

There are approximately 15,000 Mohammedan children of school age in Nyasaland, and though there are numbers of Koran Schools in existence, they really correspond to church classes in Christian Missions. By the end of 1927 the question of education to Mohammedans had not been fully settled.¹

By the end of 1977 the question of secular education to Mohammedans in Malawi had not been fully settled. That this type of education has experienced notable strides since majority African rule from 1961 goes without debate. The Malawi Congress Party election Manifesto of 1961 pledged to "pay special attention to those parts of the country like the Muslim areas of Fort Johnston (Mangochi) where education has been deplorably neglected".² But experience has shown the deep-rootedness of the backwardness of secular education among Muslim populations, a situation mainly originating from the colonial experience. If the Government of Malawi faced areas of real uphill struggle in its tireless effort to develop the social and educational wellbeing of its people, secular education for Muslims presents a case in point. This chapter will attempt to show the origins and development of the problem areas and the interplay of the various factors up to 1962. The dynamics of the retardation of Muslim education must be examined in the light of ruthless religious conflict and divisions, with the protagonists being Government, missionaries, African Christians and the African Muslims themselves.

A Brief Historical Background of Islam in Malawi

Islam came to Malawi, according to Alpers,³ by the mid-19th century, but recent research reveals that no real impact of the religion was made to any appreciable degree in Malawi until the last quarter of the 19th century as the importers, the Yao, changed their traditional commercial role to become immigrants and, occasionally, fugitives into the Malawi region. However, despite the long coastal association of the Yao with Muslim Arabs and the Swahili, this tribe never succumbed to the oriental religion until late. So that even after their settlement among the Maravi in the lakeshore areas and the Shire Highlands by the 1860's, important Yao chiefs like Makanjira, Mponda, Jalasi at the lake, and Makata in the highlands

renounced their traditional religious and, to a certain degree, cosmological thought patterns to adopt Islam only in the 1870's and 1880's respectively; this was almost in competition with the Scottish Christian Missions which first entered Malawi in the last half of the 1870's. In fact even by 1890, Islam was still almost in infancy in Malawi; it is from this time that the spread of Islam took place, most likely as a partial reaction to the imposition of colonial rule. Even before their conversion many Yao chiefs used literate Swahili Muslims as scribes and advisers and such people were probably influential in persuading the chiefs to turn to Islam⁴. By 1921 some 73,015 Muslims lived in Malawi⁵, mostly among the Yao and, to a smaller degree, the lakeshore Chewa of Salima and Nkhota Kota.

Islam in Malawi failed to spread evenly; it is, however, safe to suggest that of all the foreign religious persuasions in Malawi Islam in fact proved the most acceptable to the local people and its failure to cover a wider population can only be explained by the lack of adequate shayks to proselytize. Given the vigour with which the religion gained ground, Islam in Malawi deserves more attention as a field of study than has hitherto been the case⁶.

A number of factors combined for the relative success of Islam in this country, the first being the pacification campaigns and destruction of the Yao and Swahili polities in the wake of Harry Johnston's administration⁷. Local people seemed to interpret the campaigns as anti-Muslim, and this consequently led to a tribal cohesion rallying around Islam. The situation cannot be too emphatically generalised because, as investigations have revealed, for a long time after 1891 the Yao were prized recruits into the early police force⁸, the majority of these Muslims. However, the Yao in the rural areas perceived the whiteman's Christian Government as aimed at the obliteration of Muslims.

Besides, unlike Christianity, Islam's quick popularity stemmed partly from its respect for traditions and customs most of which remained intact among the local Muslims. Various social customs of marriage and death were simply left in whole or slightly modified to fit into Islamic beliefs⁹. A certain relationship existed "between Islam and Yao/Chewa traditional religion (rain shrines, ancestor veneration, initiation, funeral, marriage rites etc.,) the position

of Shayk/village Mwalimu in his community vis-a-vis the chief and ordinary villagers...."10. The easy local acceptance¹¹ of the Ulamah and Shayks facilitated the propagation of the Koranic teachings. In fact these "holy men" often indulged in local social practices quite inimical ^{to} ~~with~~ the Koran, but thus Islam was made attractively accommodating. The holy men lived among men and it was not unusual for these people of itinerant habits to seek little fresh girls to attend to their social needs without any stigma of morality. The resident Swahili potentates were no exception in this regard.

Right from the early days of Islam in Malawi, an urgent need existed for Koranic schools to promote a better understanding of the Koran, Hadith and Sharia. The task, initially shouldered by the Zanzibar-educated and influential Malawian Shayks like Abdullah bin Hajj Nkwanda and Muhammad bin Thabit Ngaunje, had to be developed through the establishment of local training centres from where the excellent pupils deserving advanced education at coastal institutions would proceed to Kilwa, Zanzibar and Quelimane.

The Koranic Schools, Missionaries and Government

Unlike western schools with a fairly clear distinction between the secular and religious instruction, Madrassas (Koranic School) revolved around Islam and any instruction in the Koran was only functional in so far as it served to enlighten the pupils on the religion and Hadith. In a typical Madrassa, classes were held in the morning while afternoons were given to pupils to work at the teacher's house in various domestic chores including fetching of firewood and working the teacher's field. The necessity of this work arose from the fact that pupils paid nothing, initially, for their Koranic lessons according to Islamic tradition.

Madrassas served a socio-religious function not only in giving instruction in the Koran and Hadith but also its association with the initiation ceremonies which operated the rites of passage. For example only the initiated with Jando experience could perform the rites of animal slaughter. The Jando ceremony taught initiates the acceptable, almost holy, behaviour patterns towards their elders and women folk as a preparation for their future lives which emphasised the virtues of communal existence. The Koranic school seemed to serve as the divine finesse in the proper development of the personality. The pupils needed an understanding of the whole man as tradition and the sacred ~~e~~merged. Pupils were given the understanding of

Islamic rituals and festivals like Ramadan. But invariably the instruction in Islamic schools imparted only a minimum of functional literacy in a foreign language, Arabic, which the majority could not understand. The Mwalimu was satisfied with the reading only of the Koran and a smattering of Kiswahili which assumed a prestigious religious association with Islam in Malawi. Although Shayks tried to interpret and translate the Koran into the local vernacular, such persons were too few and this function was mostly fulfilled at the Friday noon prayers.

Relations between Islam and Christianity in Malawi had always been sour as both strove to capture the same prey. Right from the late 1870's the missionary view of Islam was one of an immoral religion that condoned the iniquitous slave trade at a time when Protestant Christendom renounced its long lucrative association with the traffic. Both the Scottish and Anglican missionaries saw Islam as one prominent hindrance to Christianity and the necessary western education important in "legitimate" commercial transactions. Literacy was important for a Bible-reading Christian following but perhaps more so for an imminent capitalist society. Thus operating side by side as contemporaries the story of the relations between the two religions is one of strife, with missionaries accusing Islam of delaying civilization as the Shayks also engaged in the selling of "alibadiri" and "kuluani" charms containing some Koranic verses in the case of the former and Yao or Swahili scripts for the latter; these scripts were wrapped in leather or cloth and worn around the neck or some other part of the body as a source of good luck or healing, or protection in warfare.

Several factors militated against Muslim acceptance of western secular education. Firstly there was the missionary derogatory attitude towards Muslims whom they expected to readily adopt a Bible-centred education. Besides, the insistence on Chichewa vernacular in the village school was an affront to the Yao speakers who considered Chichewa a language of the infidels. On the other hand Christian Mission educators never considered the adoption of Chiyao, as a vernacular language of instruction, as a potentially effective educational strategy. In addition, the use of English, rather than Arabic, in the post-vernacular stages failed to appeal to the Muslims in terms of its potential use. In Malawi the Yao have occupationally often gone for domestic work and outside jobs like

tailoring, building (masons) and fishmongering all of which require no English proficiency and high education.

Above all, the insistence of Missions on conversion to Christianity of pupils in their schools threatened the whole religious and social order of the Muslims, something impossible for them to accept. The corollary was the denial of school places by Missions to any non-Christian child unwilling to convert to Christianity. If this stood as a condition for western education, Muslims were too resolved to renounce their faith even if the price entailed their educational backwardness in a fast changing world. Muslims for a long time saw western schools as brainwashing and deculturising centres designed to estrange their children.

Some Missions demonstrated great determination to achieve the impossible: attract more Muslim children to school for eventual conversion. One of the strategies conceived was to bring into the educational system an element of Arabic as an attraction to the Muslims. The D.R.C.M., in fact, sent A.C. van Wyk¹², a missionary, to Cairo to study Arabic for use at Chitundu, Dedza, where a Mission station was opened in 1924 among the predominantly Yao and Muslim populations. Ultimately this proved wasted effort because the only support for the D.R.C.M. work, church and educational, came from the subject Chewa community and to this day the Yao Muslims of Chitundu form the least educated community in the Central Region of Malawi. Government saw the salvation of the Muslims in western secular education rather than in religious instruction, and thus tried to encourage any effort to realise this objective.

As early as 1916, given the anti-Muslim character of Mission schools, Governor Smith was convinced that Government might assist to bring someone from Zanzibar to try and help to establish a viable educational system for Muslim children¹³. The plan, rejected by the Colonial Office as an invitation to missionary outcry, failed to define any educational direction. In 1918 Smith put forward a new plan suggesting preferential treatment for the education of the 73,000 Muslims in Malawi, a departure from the earlier policy of "impartiality", but the post-1925 period had to put to test the policy of positive discretionary partiality in the education of Muslim children whose access to educational facilities called for a 'conscience clause' in the Education Ordinance curbing religious influence in education.

Unlike the period prior to 1925 the succeeding era witnessed revitalised interest among Muslims in western secular education. It became clear that fluency in Arabic was inadequate to benefit from the new economic opportunities which demanded western education to gain access to attractive wages as clerks, interpreters, and foremen. Western knowledge promoted advancement in wage employment which entailed status and prospects of leadership in varying capacities such as supervisors, headmasters and Government officers with English as the crucial medium of official communication. It was in this vein that the most enterprising Muslims even sacrificed their faith to acquire western education.

Economic opportunities, more than any other factor, thus created some favourable response among Muslim parents to send their children to school. The type of school became an important matter for resolution. In 1928, 700 Yao Muslim chiefs and headmen petitioned Government¹⁴ for the first time for a Government school for Muslims. The request was granted and the first such school, although shortlived, was built at Liwonde in 1928 on an experimental basis. The false hope of course rested in the knowledge that although the Liwonde School could only enrol a small number the rest of the Muslim children would be allowed into Government-aided Christian schools on the basis of the 1927 Education Ordinance which made provision for non-sectarian school instruction. But this failed to assist the situation adequately, given the slim Government grants which left most village schools unaided. The dilemma of the Muslim was therefore far from resolved because the contradictions remained.

In a way Muslim pupils in regular Mission schools constituted a difficult problem because of the authoritarian nature of those schools where no waiving of procedural rules was entertained. In morning assembly where some preaching from the Bible featured, Muslim children were not exempted and often experienced ridicule from the 'Christian' majority. Government had no way of monitoring this situation which grieved Muslim parents who often failed to be sufficiently motivated in giving their children western education. But apart from this the fundamental problem was simply to sufficiently convince Muslims about the advantages of secular education because even the three Government schools for Muslims established between 1928 and 1933 were soon closed for lack of adequate support and patronage¹⁵.

The Post-War Period

The most striking feature of the Report of the Post-War Development Committee (1945) was the total absence of any reference to any plans for the education of the African Muslim minority. One of the greatest errors of the colonial experience was the relegation of this kind of education to a position of an insignificant footnote whose treatment was often superficial. The problem was real and could not be ignored. Missions worried about it even if only to highlight their unsuccessful efforts at conversion. The Anglican Mission, operating in predominantly Muslim areas was the most affected and reports of its work among Muslims never served as a source of real encouragement. The U.M.C.A., despite its long and fairly successful association with education among Muslims in Zanzibar and other East African countries, did not find its work easy among the Muslim Yao or Chewa in Nkhota Kota. By 1945 the U.M.C.A. talked of the need for new strategies among the Yao where "schools bore these Nyasa Yaos stiff....We must think again"¹⁶. The reason for this was the wrong focus of the school as a proselytizing centre. The question lingered whether schools should precede Christinising or vice versa, and the suggested policy at Malindi, where many Christian families from Likoma had been brought to settle and influence the Muslim Yao, was to place the work in the hands of an African priest¹⁷.

The policy was clearly negative not only from the religious angle but also in the field of education. As the Bishop of the Diocese of Nyasaland wrote in 1946, "not only are conversions from Islam to Christianity very few - in the four Yao-Moslem parishes (Likwenu, Malindi, Mponda and Unangu) only twenty or thirty adults were baptized last year-but lapses from Christianity to Islam are distressingly frequent, and I should hardly venture to say that on the balance Christianity is even holding its own very certainly, it is not making any appreciable headway"¹⁸. But this lack of progress extended to the educational area. An additional fundamental problem in this sphere seems to have been the lack of adequate and inspiring Yao teachers. As the Report commented "there are lamentably few Yao teachers anywhere in the Diocese, and truth compels me to admit that the majority of those there are either elderly and tired, or addicted to drink and laziness"¹⁹. It seemed therefore that so long as non-Yao teachers were used and education

continued to be linked with Christianity, success of schools in the Yao-Muslim areas faced a hard struggle.

Muslims wanted mutual respect which explains their reasonable tolerance to the establishment of western schools, so long as their own terms would also count in the patronization of the school by their children. But as late as 1947 the school was still seen by Missions as the most effective approach for evangelization if used carefully²⁰ - through persuasion. Muslims, however, never resented overmuch the idea of sending their children to school so long as they received the necessary exposure and instruction in the Koran.

Government shouldered the larger share of the blame for the backwardness of secular education for Muslim children. Admittedly Muslim conservatism deserves condemnation as one of the major factors, with missionary bigotry playing a devastating role; but Government lukewarm attitude never helped matters and any plans to improve this type of education experienced defeat from missionary criticism contradictory to the concept of freedom and equality of educational opportunity among Malawians regardless of religion within the framework of the declared "conscience clause".

Muslim Schools: Renewed Effort

After the fiasco of the Liwonde Muslim School experiment in 1930's, Government attitude seems to have designated this type of education almost as the forgotten footnote. The enormous activity characterising the Post-War reconstruction, raised fears of a permanent neglect of Muslim education. For a while it seemed secular education for Muslims would have to rely on initiative among the Muslims themselves. It was Chiradzulu which after 1946 took the lead in opening Islamic schools, extending eventually to other districts like Mangochi (former Fort Johnston), Nkhota Kota and Salima. Government stand was one of covert indifference to the local Muslim initiatives so long as the Education Ordinance provisions were met. The efforts encountered enormous handicaps which included lack of adequate official backing, missionary derision and uncooperation, lack of qualified teachers and finance, mismanagement, corruption, and lack of credibility. Besides, the whole Muslim conception of a school failed to match the prevailing trend in education.

The 1945 Education Ordinance represented a major revolutionary step in the advancement of education in Malawi. And yet prominent

was its silence on Muslims. Advisory Committees were constituted for the education of Europeans, Africans, Asians, and Euro-Africans, and minorities like African women came under the African section; but Muslims were totally ignored.

Although Government sounded prepared to accept the principle of opening schools by any group or community, the stipulated conditions for this created an impossible hurdle to the concept of Muslim schools. The inherent assumption that any organisation applying for permission to open a school possessed the necessary personnel and materials just did not work in favour of Muslim schools. In the first place, although applications to open new schools initially went to the District Commissioner for vetting of the various technical aspects, the final voice came from the missionary-influenced and dominated District School Committee which recommended or rejected the application to the Director of Education. To qualify for grants-in-aid schools needed teachers with professional certificates signed by the Director of Education; not many teachers in a Muslim school, most of whom were Muslims, possessed the requisite qualification for Government aid for the school. Most of the Muslim schools therefore operated unaided without benefitting from even regular Government supervisory services to ensure standards. Thus with a minimum of official guidance Muslim education struggled to keep alive.

One of the famous Muslim schools was "Kanyenda Mohammedan School" registered on 17th January 1947 in Chiradzulu. As in most other similar cases Kanyenda School got financial support from the Muslim Indian community which was always prepared to assist in a worthwhile Muslim cause. The African Muslims always appreciated this generous aid which, however, was rarely used properly given the rampant corruption of the leadership which extended to extortion of the school fees charged²¹.

In November 1949 Kanyenda applied to the Director of Education for a grant-in-aid on the grounds of compliance with Rules 75/100 of the Education Ordinance regarding buildings, and the Education Department syllabus, with four teachers holding teaching certificates including English grade, and two without reaching qualifications²². The Assistant District Commissioner sympathised with the situation at Kanyenda where the "very creditable spontaneous effort"²³ needed Government financial support to pay the complaining teachers from

a more stable source than from the precarious volutary subscriptions from the Indian community. The Department of Education finally sanctioned grants-in-aid for the four certificated teachers in line with the new policy of paying salaries of certificated teachers in any school approved by the Education Officer²⁴. But the approval of these grants led to the surfacing of the corruption alluded to earlier when the school Manager, Mr Bunaya Amasi, underpaid his teachers and personally used up the rest of the money²⁵. Government had to devise a new system of paying the teachers instead of going through a distrustful manager like Bunaya Amasi who in any case lacked sufficient western literacy. In the case of Kanyenda School Government encouragement and support, once initiated, was made available, notwithstanding the corruption of Bunaya Amasi. This was in fact demonstrated by the attendance of Fox Strangeways, Secretary of African Affairs, accompanied by several other European officials, at an official opening of Kanyenda School on 21 October 1950²⁶.

One of the shortcomings with this type of school often lay in the leadership calibre to understand and perceive issues in education. The Koranic centre was different from a secular educational institution along the western lines. Shaikh Bunaya Amasi, a local Muslim politician, needed more than just the Koran for the fusion of western secular education with the religious aspect. Bunaya, inspired by his East African examples of education for Muslim children, masterminded the establishment of Kanyenda School but the professional planning was outside his province of ability. The distinct feature of this school, which for a while only went up to Standard Two, was the teaching of both Arabic and English and Bunaya's unenviable task was the recruitment of appropriate staff. Amasi never acquired any western education of note but was obviously endowed with enormous natural intelligence which unfortunately served as a source of corrupt shrewdness.

Nevertheless, despite his handicaps Amasi had some ideas about the education necessary for a Muslim community. Amasi perceived the importance of western education which, however, had to recognise the autonomy of religion. The major weakness of Amasi's and his colleagues' ideas lay in the emphasis of the Koran at a time when credibility of his five schools depended on their ability to cater for non-Muslim students as well. Credibility of the educational

system depended on the quality of teachers but the ideal of Muslim teachers with the requisite western secular education proved impossible. Besides, the tribal element linked Muslims almost exclusively to the Yao, and a departure from this meant problems. In 1953 the complication surfaced as in the case of a teacher, J. Kambalame who protested against Amasi's attempts to block the former's efforts to get a teaching job elsewhere, because he was allegedly Nyanja by tribe²⁷.

Two developments resulted from the situation; the need for Muslim teachers, and a governing body rather than an individual who handled the schools and staff like personal property in the absence of direct Government interest in the actual running of such schools. Amasi proposed a governing body with the Provincial Education Officer as a member²⁸ to monitor developments and problems. But the Christian element always threatened Bunaya Amasi. Although ideally set to cater for Muslim pupils, non-Muslim pupils and teachers formed part of the community in these schools which were expected by Government to be religiously neutral in compliance with the Education Ordinance.

The idea of training Malawian Muslim teachers was in vogue as early as 1954 and, although initiated by Amasi with Kanyenda School in mind, the prospects were to extend to other schools by way of policy. Bunaya Amasi, a regular visitor to Zanzibar, devised a scheme to send students to the Island. A shrewd man, Amasi secured three scholarships from the Sultan of Zanzibar to this effect. The scheme seemed useful and perhaps the desired type in the development of Muslim teachers grounded both in Islam and secular education. But the project faced the problem of securing Muslim candidates with a Standard Six certificate²⁹, and Amasi was exploring through the Nyasaland Government the possibility of sending candidates with only a Standard IV qualification. Amasi's Zanzibar project, generally supported by the Government, was seen as a method in line with the school staffing practice of the time.

Zanzibar demonstrated readiness to train Malawian Muslim teachers for a number of reasons. Firstly the religious motive was important. For a long time Zanzibar's religious hegemony in Central Africa

had waned and training Central Africans provided an opportunity for revitalising Zanzibar's influence. Then there was the fairly honest motive to demonstrate to the Malawians the operational fusion of Islam and secular education in a country like Zanzibar with a strong Anglican educational presence, although the Anglican following was composed mainly of ex-slaves. Besides all this, Muslims got the impression from the Binns Commission of 1951 whose Report almost totally ignored Muslim educational needs, that the colonial Government could not take the necessary action without the initiative coming from the Muslims themselves³⁰.

One of the major issues with the Zanzibar project since its launching in 1955 was that apart from the dearth of Malawian Muslim students with a Standard Six qualification who were to be chosen, unfortunately by Amasi, a religious leader, those selected would first follow a two-year middle school course before joining the teacher training programme, of a four year duration to qualify as primary school teachers. Amasi was attracted by the goodwill scholarships without considering the training time factor which came to six years after Standard Six to produce a primary teacher. The appropriate step should have been to persuade Government to employ a Muslim tutor at Domasi T.T. College to cater for the religious needs of Muslim trainees in a community school environment. But Muslim education formed an area too complex for any real Government solution and any Muslim initiative was welcomed with relief in Government circles.

Besides, one other major weakness in the secular education effort for Muslims was the absence of any coordinating body of the private initiatives springing up even in Mangochi and Nkhota Kota. Muslim individuals, probably anxious to seek glory for themselves, sought to establish and run a school or schools as the founder's property. The idea of a coordinating body failed to appeal to people like Kanyenda's³¹ Amasi. The main reason seems to have been greed and unwillingness to reduce the prestige associated with the proprietorship of schools. For example the main issue in the refusal by Bunaya Amasi to attend the May 1955 conference of Muslim educationists convened in Mangochi was Amasi's fear of boosting the status of Chipalamawamba Islamic Primary School in that district which already seemed to enjoy some noticeable success under the management of A. Thabiti. Besides, some of these school

proprietors cherished the enormous money donations, a privilege to be lost to any coordinated union of Muslim education³².

The Muslim chiefs often saw the divisions in Muslim education as a sign of weakness, hence the Mangochi (Fort Johnston) meeting. A concerted approach and policy, however, seemed impossible, given the bickering and internal strife and intrigues characterising Muslim affairs. Bunaya Amasi gave for his non-cooperation reasons such as the possible political implications of such a meeting organised by chiefs during the era of the Central African Federation especially at a time of useful cooperation from the Government officials in the running of Kanyenda Schools; and the elusive and empty promises from African politicians to help improve the Muslim educational facilities. But beneath all this lay the fear of loss of authority and control over the schools to an organisation with a strong presence of chief's influence. Government favoured the formation of any such organisation to coordinate Muslim education which would operate as a liaising body³³. Muslim chiefs and leaders in Blantyre agreed to actively support the new "Mohamedan Education Committee" whose backing would be crucial in any requests by a Muslim School to the District Committee for financial assistance. Government attached much importance to the support by chiefs.

Even as late as 1956 Muslim education was still characterised by chaos, disorder and newness among people whose only interest for a long time focussed on the Koran; the Government inspection reports spotted these weaknesses which sometimes led to the withdrawal of Government grants, as was the case with Chipalamawamba School on grounds of general inefficiency³⁴. The Muslim School manager often failed to effectively monitor the situation in the schools to meet the stipulated Government standards which a larger body would strive to ensure. It is this body which would even coordinate appropriate teacher training programmes instead of individual schools mounting their own show. In fact Malawian politicians in the Legislative Council voiced their concern also³⁵, stressing the importance and need for proper coordination of Muslim education. Even the Advisory Committee on African Education by 1958 included Muslim education in its deliberations which recommended a Nyasaland Government contribution towards the cost of training Muslim teachers, post-Standard Six, at Beit el-Ras, Zanzibar, while Government also reserved places for Muslim students at the Government Teacher Training Centre at

Domasi. The Director of Education viewed these recommendations sympathetically³⁶.

Actual Formation of a Coordinating Body.

The idea of a Central Body was first discussed at the meeting in April 1956 as a way of attracting Government attention to "help us to give us schools in most suitable places and assist us financially"³⁷ with no intention to weaken Islam "but that our children should receive better education...in order to understand the Government well and be able to play an important part in the administration of the country"³⁸ through better education. So much internal pressure was building up among Muslims for a change of attitude amongst themselves; this led to concerted support of the Central Body to control and look after the Muslim education. At the June 1956 meeting an Education Trustees Committee was formed exclusively to handle educational matters and initially catering for Mulanje, Blantyre, Zomba and Mangochi (Fort Johnston). The Committee³⁹, to be registered as a body corporate with a constitution, represented the most decisive step so far in the determination by Muslims to improve their education, an effort initiated in 1955.

The Committee's task was formidable because apart from operating closely with District Education Committees it was to ensure the discouragement of the excessive entrepreneurial spirit among individual school owners who were quite reluctant to be submerged by any organization. Malawian nationalist politicians watched keenly the organization of Muslims as they raised the matter of Muslim education in the Legislative Council. But the Committee was bedevilled by jealousy and suspicion as some chiefs, especially in Mangochi⁴⁰, (Fort Johnston) showed a spirit of dissent against the possibility of domination of Shire Highlands chiefs. To these chiefs the Committee represented no more than a structure of superficial educational unity, without much regard for the issue of Muslim brotherhood affiliation. The rivalry came down to one between "Sukutu" and "Twaliki" sects which later resurfaced to complicate the attempts at Muslim unity.

The intricacies of Muslim education were more complex than they appeared. In fact the issue of non-cooperation of some notable chiefs and other individuals was not only based on selfishness and personal ambition but also on suspicion of Government intentions and commitment. To individuals like Amasi it was not the Muslim attitude as much as that of Government which delayed Muslim education;

and Government's insistence on affiliation of all Muslims to the new Committee was only an attempt to gloss over more important issues. For example there were the problems of grants-in-aid paid to Kanyenda School, the other schools failing to qualify on grounds of adverse and negative inspection reports compiled by Department of Education inspectors on some of their seldom visits, and the crucial issue of shortage of teachers. Government seemed anxious about the formation of the Committee not just as a mouthpiece on Muslim educational needs but also as a channel of external aid to Muslims⁴¹. Apart from feeling slighted by the accusation of embezzling funds, although some truth existed in proof, some Muslim leaders considered this to be evasion by Government of its financial responsibility towards Muslim education. The issue of teachers proved even more volatile. Government recognition of teacher shortages in Muslim schools was clear. What disappointed these schools was the practice of sending to Muslim or other independent schools those secular teachers dismissed from Mission institutions on grounds of immorality. Besides, Government failure to allow Muslim and other independent schools external recruitment from Southern Rhodesia, for example, stood as deliberate blockage of satisfactory teaching appointments for the advancement of such education and created suspicion. It was therefore not clear how the Committee would reverse the trend, as the official organ of the Muslims.

Then there was the political dimension to compound the whole situation characterised by a suspected Afro-Muslim sentiment and African nationalist political activity epitomized by Dr H. Kamuzu Banda's return home in July 1958 to lead the Nyasaland African Congress. The Suez incident in 1956 had its repercussions even in Malawi where the Government looked with disfavour any Malawian Muslim contacts with Cairo⁴². In the face of the strong anti-Federation feeling in Nyasaland, Government was watchful of dangerous Islamic excesses of fanaticism of a political menace, and any likelihood of a pan-Muslim revolutionary tendency had to be controlled. A case in point is furnished by the incident concerning D.A. Muhomed, of probable Zanzibar origins, who claimed affiliation with the "Great Banu Island of American Muslim Education", a dubious body whose reputation worried the Nyasaland Government⁴³. However, Government, in a "conciliatory" mood, was prepared to consider the establishment of an Advisory Committee of Muslim Education⁴⁴

probably as a useful control device.

Not all Muslims involved in the formation of the Central Body understood the events; in fact some were stunned by the official interest in organising Muslim education⁴⁵. Government, however, still sounded rather vague in its concept of Muslim education. In fact when the Blantyre District Commissioner talked of not being "concerned in Mohammedan religion but Mohammedan education"⁴⁶, the distinction to Muslims was so thin as to demand a clarification of intentions. However, the important emerging theme was a recognition of the Muslim secular educational needs which because of divisions, had failed to benefit adequately from the Local Government education tax levy of 4 shillings on every taxpayer.

Organization, Proliferation and Persistent Problems in Muslim Education

The major developments characterising the last half of the 1950's included attempts at streamlining and tightening of the organisation of Muslim educational aspirations and the increasing attempts to expand educational opportunities of Muslim children through organised Muslim initiative with official Government support as noted. Of even more significance was the establishment of the Nyasaland Muslim Association. While the Central Body of Muslim Education started mainly as a southern regional organisation, a point of weakness, the Muslim Association formed around the same time encompassed wider interests on a national scale. One confusing thing of these organisations was their occasional overlapping of defined functions and a distinction was often difficult to make⁴⁷. The confusion existed even in the minds of some high ranking Government officials including the Chief Secretary⁴⁸, and formed the subject of the Southern Provincial Commissioner's letter in which the Nyasaland Muslim Association was portrayed as synonymous with the Central Body of Muslim Education owning a number of schools registered under the Education Ordinance⁴⁹.

While the latter achieved incorporation in 1957, subsequently applying for the registration of a number of its schools which had been granted where the District Education Committees has so recommended, Government needed distinct clarification of the relationship of this body with the Nyasaland Muslim Association which in 1958 sought incorporation. It was, however, Government intention to support the Nyasaland Muslim Association which appeared as an umbrella

organisation, a body encompassing considerable Muslim opinion endeavouring to achieve unity among Muslims and to encourage educational effort conducted in accordance with the Education Ordinance.

The terms of reference and rules and regulations of the Nyasaland Muslim Association were vast but rather too difficult for proper implementation, given the prevalent divisions and bickering among the leaders, and the existence of local Muslim Associations which tended to undermine the parent organisation. The Nyasaland Muslim Association was formed as "the only official Body to receive and raise funds on behalf of Mohammedan schools for their educational work"⁵⁰. Besides, the Association vested in itself powers as the sole body to handle applications and grant permission to open new Muslim schools, while reserving the right to employ teachers from any other country provided they were Muslims.

From its beginnings with Sheikh R.A. Karim as its President the Nyasaland Muslim Association (N.M.A.) cherished great hopes for Islamic revival through education, a sentiment reflected in the Muslim majority. But it was precisely this attitude which operated against real progress which was still largely gauged by the acquisition of the Koran. This differed from Asian schools where the Koran featured on the timetable only as one of the subjects, the major elements of it being left to parental instruction. All in all, the age of enlightenment seems to have set in with a new emphasis on organised secular education for Muslims. The Muslim leaders were gripped by euphoria in the hope for tangible accomplishments through the Association. Of crucial significance was the support of Muslim chiefs. Chief Chikumbu of Mulanje hoped that "the Association would be able to do more for the education of the Mohamedans"⁵¹. Some Muslim leaders in fact saw the Association as the end of their problems in education⁵². The support of District Commissioners who also served as District Education Committee chairmen presented a potentially favourable scenario to facilitate a proper channel of Muslim pressure through the Association for educational assistance, facilities and services⁵³.

The situation was rather tricky. The Protectorate Government seemed to have had an ulterior motive in its support for Muslim effort at a time of rising nationalist political tempers; a demonstration of some favour to the Muslim minority meant instilling into them some confidence in the Protectorate Government. On their part

the Muslims, not over-deceived, considered this the chance to exploit the situation to their benefit. To most of the Muslim leaders the most important aspect was the exploitability of the Government, Protectorate or Federal. It was in this vein that the great anomaly of regionalism or provincialism had to be rectified if Muslim education was to become a national undertaking. In an effort to cover the country to develop a feeling of national unity and sense of purpose in Muslim education the Association's initial move was to invite from Zanzibar an educational leader, Sheikh Oman Abdullah, to come and advise on Muslim education. Abdullah's itinerary at the end of 1957 included a visit to the Central Region where he met Muslims and District Commissioners to acquaint himself with their educational problems⁵⁴. The ambitious programme was devised not only to fulfil the national dimension of the Association but also as a response to the incessant bickering and animosities fuelled by personal ambition among Muslims. For example in this particular case the predominating idea was the anxiety "to see that there is no any other party that will claim to be a Muslim Association of Nyasaland other than this Association, and the Association would like to inform Government that they are still trusting the word of Government that Muslim education in Nyasaland must be in the hands of one Association only"⁵⁵. The emphasis was placed on the importance of withholding official permission to other organisations and individuals to collect funds except through the Association. The monopoly was already facing increasing stresses from entrepreneurial individuals who, encouraged by the Muslim belief in giving to a Muslim for a just cause, gave rise to the mushrooming of small unrecognised and unaided schools. In here lay the trouble because while Government could withhold aid to schools which failed to meet the stipulated criteria, its interest to control the establishment and operation of unaided schools was minimal, much against the hopes of the N.M.A. The N.M.A. was anxious to see Government curb the activities of individuals like Bunaya Amasi of Kanyenda Schools.

Kanyenda, with offshoots of six other schools by 1954⁵⁶ and on the increase, notwithstanding a great shortage of teachers, competed against the country-wide N.M.A. which had only 16 schools in the Southern Province and 7 in the Central Region in 1959. Kanyenda in fact enjoyed a measure of support even from some leading citizens like Charles J. Matinga, a Federal Member of Parliament, a factor

which occasionally disenchanted some African nationalist politicians, especially members of Congress, about Kanyenda. Kanyenda as an independent institution represented an affront to Government efforts at Muslim unity and hence the generally favourable official attitude towards the N.M.A. In fact by 1958 the report by the Assistant District Commissioner for Chiradzulu on Kanyenda School described the institution as "completely bankrupt morally". Government therefore placed the N.M.A. educational programme in better stead.

However, the favourable place accorded to the N.M.A. never solved the still standing enormous difficulties as educational expansion entailed the usual problems of organisation, staffing, finance and human and public relations; it is however correct that Government took steps to implement the recommendations of the Advisory Committee on African Education of May 1958⁵⁷ about seeking teacher training places for Muslim students in Zanzibar and, finally, Domasi Government T.T.C., and encourage local communities with a large Muslim concentration to open their own schools. But the hopes for Zanzibar and Domasi meant little for the planned training programme, for English grade teachers enrolment was restricted to two for the former and four for the latter. To make matters worse no prospective Muslim student from Malawi attained the new entrance qualification of School Certificate (Standard Ten) to enter Beit el-Ras Teacher Training Centre in Zanzibar⁵⁸. In any case, as the Director of Education commented, "at present it is even doubtful whether any Muslim boys will successfully pass our Standard VI (your Standard VIII) this year"⁵⁹. In fact by September 1959 the Advisory Committee on African Education recommended that action to send students to Zanzibar "must now be a matter of private arrangement between local Muslim Associations and similar bodies in Zanzibar"⁶⁰.

When the President of the N.M.A. applied to Government for a senior primary school⁶¹ at Ndunde the problems were not restricted to the dearth of teachers alone but also the general disorder and lack of progress in the 23 N.M.A. schools. The odds seemed insoluble, making the request almost like a joke. With only three assisted junior primary schools in the Southern Region, one in Mangochi, and two in Zomba and Ndunde respectively, no real prospects existed for a senior primary school for the next couple of years, according to the Provincial Education Officer⁶².

The issue of grants always haunted Muslim education particularly

in its later stages of proliferation. The procedure of grants did not seem clear to the Muslim leadership which tended to ignore the prerequisite of "efficiency" in its complaints and claims. According to the District Commissioner of Dowa District, "even were funds available they (Central Body of Muslim Education) would have to tighten up their administrative organisation considerably to warrant their being given assistance. At present it is chaotic"⁶³.

The situation led to the irregular remedies in some schools like Kanyenda to overcharge exorbitant school fees to proportions of extortion⁶⁴. In many of these schools teachers went without pay for some months. By the end of 1960 Government was convinced of the Central Body of Muslim Education's inability to pay its teachers in both assisted and unassisted schools. The affairs of the Body were brought under investigation as Government declared "that no further grant-in-aid can be paid to this Body and that alternative arrangements will have to be made to keep the existing (three) assisted schools going...The unassisted schools should not be allowed to open in 1961"⁶⁵. The only reason for not suggesting the closure of all N.M.A. schools was to allow the Body to pay arrears of teachers' salaries and other dues.

It is important to note here the ruthless competition for Muslim leadership, although negative; the struggle for leadership, even at the local level must be seen against the ambition for financial gain. In the Central Region (Province) a clear illustration came from Salima where a confused organisation of Muslim schools prevailed. E.W. Mwandire had been employed by the Central Body of Muslim Education as secretary and Muhamadi Mwawa as Manager of Schools in the Salima area⁶⁶. But Mwandire's ambitions to usurp the position of manager could not be tamed for too long. Mwandire was, however, assisted by the weak control of the Central Body which failed to maintain its Salima schools effectively; he took over the schools in the name of his newly formed African Commonwealth Muslim College, Salima, with its operational headquarters at Maganga. The Mwandire case is interesting in highlighting problems of personal conflicts, ambitions and gain in Muslim education.

Mwawa, the Manager of the Central Body of Muslim Education (C.B.M.S.) schools in Salima had severed his connections with the Body which seemed to be breathing its last. Mwandire's emergence as Manager and Secretary-General of his College was to take advantage

of the leadership gap although counter to C.B.M.S. and Government wishes, and handle revenue from the schools. On 13 June 1961 Mwandire applied to Government for registration of four schools under his organisation: Maganga, Makanjila and Kasache in Salima, and Chikwasa in Dedza north, claiming a total enrolment of 1,100 children in them⁶⁷. Mwandire contravened the law by operating unregistered schools like Maganga, and only Government threats of prosecution slowed him down. In any case Mwandire's African Commonwealth Muslim College, an unregistered organisation, could not apply for registration of schools.

By 1960, a period of stiffening confusion in Muslim education had set in. The disarray in the C.B.M.E. seems responsible for the confusion. For example the Lilongwe Muslim Association operated its aided (from 1959) school at Ali Mpango, independent of the C.B.M.E. The emergence of the Mwandire factor only complicated the situation in Muslim education which still lacked coordination, supervision and control to the educational detriment of Muslim children whose parents still showed unwillingness, generally, to send their children to schools of other agencies⁶⁸. The position in the Southern Province presented no healthier report. By 1960 three "managing Bodies" with schools for Muslim children operated in the province and these included the Central Body for Muslim Education, The African Mahomedan Association, and the Islamic School Association⁶⁹. These Associations often shared the misery of mismanagement, jealousies, intrigues, shortage of funds and lack of emphasis on female education which was natural in a male-dominated Muslim society where a woman's inferior position was restricted to procreation and household chores to feed the family. The problems were enormous and to salvage the situation in 1960 Government permitted a visit into the country of another educational expert from Zanzibar, Sheikh Abdulla SALEH el-Farsey.

Of all the visits by Zanzibari education advisers to the country that of Abdullah Saleh el-Farsey was the most elaborate in terms of coverage of substance and personalities consulted who included the Chief Secretary's deputy. El-Farsey's detailed report⁷⁰ to the Chief Secretary, Zomba, represented a mammoth effort but which, unfortunately, failed to suggest real workable solutions to the serious problems confronting secular education for Muslims, and demonstrated a superficial understanding, generally, of the existing

situation. Positive suggestions were very few.

El-Farsey's praise for the strife of various Muslim Associations as "healthy competition" just illustrates his shallow grasp of the issues. El-Farsey interpreted any official attempt to bring together the C.B.M.E. and Sheikh Thabit's and Sheikh Amasi's Associations as destructive to healthy competition and hindering progress in Muslim education. In fact this competition constituted precisely the root of the problem. El-Farsey ignored in his assessment the endemic conspiracies, jealousies, personal ambition and consequent bickering between the Associations. In any case Amasi of Kanyenda had established for himself the reputation of lacking cooperation with authorities, and always being in difficulty with his teachers because of his interference in purely school matters while Thabiti of Chipalamawamba excelled as a "useless"⁷¹ manager, using his school mainly as a propaganda centre for personal benefit. The lack of unified approach in Muslim education was aggravated by the absence of well-defined and acceptable leadership among the Muslims themselves, a weakness common to countries like Tanganyika as well⁷².

Government assistance to Muslim schools formed an important part of El Farsey's report. Whatever Government said in its defence it is correct that its financial contribution to Muslim education operated below plausible levels in a country where the education levy fell on all taxpayers. However, the problem of confusion in Muslim education provided a useful excuse for Government unwillingness to assist. Christian Mission organisations enjoyed Government grants because of better organisation; by 1960 the Catholics in fact established the post of General Education Secretary, followed soon afterwards by other denominations. Muslim defence of their neglected status emphasised that "Muslims have no organisations such as the Church to run their affairs; in fact they do not believe in them"⁷³. In effect African Muslims struggled mostly on their own and often with meagre success.

The point about teachers still raised some concern and misunderstanding regarding their nature. To the Muslim community a teacher and

the Ulama (Mwalimu) were synonymous while Government tried to draw a distinction between the religious and secular aspects of a teacher. Muslims wanted Government to take as its responsibility to organise both their secular and religious welfare⁷⁴; the suggestion by El Farsey to have a Muslim teacher paid by Government in community schools to teach Islam was most unrealistic because in Christian schools religion was taught by the class teacher, a practice which Government found impossible to depart from in the case of Muslim schools. Government was quick to point out its non-objection to the appointment of teachers of the Islamic religion in District Council or other non-denominational schools and presumably such teachers would teach Islam to Muslim pupils while Christian boys and girls attended a Bible class. As a policy on paper Government allowed Muslim pupils to withdraw from religious instruction in Government-aided schools. But the Muslim complaint did indeed apply in most Christian institutions where Christian religious knowledge formed an examinable part of the curriculum. Some staunch Muslim parents used this situation to deprive their children of a western education.

Perhaps one of the greatest weaknesses of El Farsey's report was the attempt to gloss over the serious handicap to Muslim education originating from the divisions of the Kadiria and Sukuti sects. But Farsey's strongest recommendation revolved around the need for some Muslims on the membership of the Advisory Committee on African Education and Government consensus with this idea was forthcoming. For a long time Muslim education represented a peripheral issue in the Committee's deliberations. The majority of the Advisory Committee's membership, being Christian, demonstrated very little, if any, sympathy for Muslim educational demands, very little of which they understood. This point received attention but the usual weakness of disunity among Muslims militated against a nomination acceptable to all Muslim parties and sects concerned. All in all Government reception of El Farsey's report was one of disappointment.⁷⁵

By the end of 1960, indeed 1961, the character of Muslim demands for education assumed a more militant approach. Muslim education had by this time shown no real signs of progress. Then there developed the defiant attitude toward the Protectorate Government ^{in line with} nationalist political activity. As a result of this activity, hopes for a better order of African political fortunes grew and sectional

interests had to be asserted in time. Besides, the militant tendency often came more from the frustrated individuals like Mwandire of Salima whose constitution of his African Commonwealth Muslim College provides the most vivid illustration⁷⁶. The focus seemed to have clearly tilted from a purely educational angle to serve as a political catharsis at the political crossroads. And the shift from a purely Muslim emphasis to include interests of other sections of the African community gave such new demands a new dimension although occasionally engendering confusion⁷⁷. Mwandire's dubious ideas about education failed to make any impact despite his false claims of support from prominent Asians in Lilongwe like Daud H. Gelu. In fact Government dismissed his unregistered African Commonwealth Muslim College, which had no buildings, as non-existent⁷⁸.

By the time of the first general elections in Malawi in August 1961 Muslim education still posed one of the greatest feats for the first African Government under the Malawi Congress Party whose Manifesto declared its plan to "pay special attention to those parts of the country like the Moslem areas of Fort Johnston where education has been deplorably neglected."⁷⁹ But to put Muslim education on a proper footing has constituted an onerous challenge to the policy of equitable distribution and consumption of social services made available by Government, and improvements took a long time to register in any form and degree. However, in all this mess of Muslim education the Muslim women suffered deprivation even more, reflecting their position in society.

In the relevant chapter on women's education brief mention was made of the dominance of the Muslim males over their females. Education as a strong agent of social change was therefore to be watched carefully to avert the possibility of creating social equality between the sexes. In fact girls featured ^{as} the least beneficiaries in the struggle for Muslim secular education. The Government policy on its part made no distinction between Muslim and non-Muslim girls, hence the absence of specific mention of the latter in any of the official Commission reports. Government treated the issue of Muslim education in toto as if boys and girls occupied the same place in society. But the position in Zanzibar was better than in Malawi because, a predominantly Muslim country, Zanzibar recognised the need for a measure of education for its womenfolk and the influence of missionary effort in this area seemed to inspire this educational environment. Considering the situation in Zanzibar and Malawi,

some variations seemed to exist in the treatment of women's education in line with special problems besetting Muslim African and Arab education. In fact while racial equality among Muslims tended to receive some emphasis, African Muslims were described by their Arab counterparts as uncivilised⁸⁰. In Malawi itself, definitely, Asian Muslims gave themselves a position superior to that of African Muslims and encouraged quite a good number of their women to acquire a fair amount of western education.

Muslims in Malawi got their inspiration from Zanzibar but fared badly in female education which failed to extend even to religious levels. In fact Zanzibar seemed to have a clearer distinction between religious and secular Muslim education although the latter was impossible without the former. However, the operational ethic was to give women less education than men. For example in Zanzibar, the amount and quality of religious teaching for women had to be below that of men, a situation not too different from Christian practice which prevented women from ministering in church. Generally, in Zanzibar women lagged behind men in religious rather than academic education, at least up to Standard VIII. This progress led to some changes in social attitudes especially towards early marriages in rural areas⁸¹.

However the position among Malawian Muslims represented a complex combination of a socio-religious nature rooted in tradition. Most Malawian "Walimu" led a very active social life, always ensuring the presence of young girls in the retinue of wives. The age difference between spouses could be as wide as 45. While the husband selfishly cherished the practice of marrying the young girls, sometimes virgins, the girls' parents considered it an honour to give away a daughter to a religious potentate. This however was a general traditional practice among the matrilineal Yao which was welcomed in religious circles. Some men married pre-puberty young girls who should have been going to school. This background therefore partly explains the extreme conservatism among Muslims in Malawi against Muslim female education. Then there was the other factor of general fear of the educated woman's demand for independence which challenged the basis of the male Muslim's belief in chauvinism.

External Influences and Western Secular Education for Muslims

If the Protectorate Government and Muslims themselves failed by 1961 to establish a viable and functional education for Muslims

the cause cannot be attributed to a total lack of external influences. We noted earlier the visits of two Islamic educators including that of Sheikh el Farsey mainly in reciprocation of contacts by people like Sheikh Bunaya Amasi of Kanyenda and the C.B.M.E. with Zanzibar.

One of the most important developments in Muslim education was the institution in 1958, by the East Africa High Commission, of the "Fact-finding Mission to Study Muslim Education in East Africa"⁸². From what is known no similar Commission was ever formed to examine Muslim education in Malawi. Two factors would explain this state of affairs. Islam in Malawi was almost as recent as Christianity, and a generally Christian Nyasaland Government found itself at pains to please the latter. In any case the Swahili and Arab elements in Malawi never formed a substantial resident corpus of Muslims because even the Swahili population of Jumbe in Nkhota Kota was too small to make any real impact on Government policy comparable to the extent in East Africa. Besides, the removal of Mwenye Keri, the last Jumbe, by the Protectorate Government under Harry Johnston dealt a heavy blow to the general influence of the Jumbes in Malawi. East Africa, however, was somehow different. Although only Zanzibar was predominantly Muslim a substantial Muslim population also resided on the mainland. Besides East Africa was often seen almost as an automatic federation of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika with their interests considered ensemble⁸³; this inflated the numbers of resident mainland Muslims whose operation was reinforced by the presence of a large Arab and Asian Muslim population. All this in effect helps to explain the colonial Government's interest in East Africa to institute the fact-finding mission to study Muslim education. Malawi was only to benefit indirectly from the findings by adapting some of the ideas to the local situation.

The Report of the fact-finding mission was significant not only as a guide of ideas in Muslim education but also as a demonstration of tangible interest in that education by the British Secretary of State for the Colonies who commissioned the study⁸⁴. However although this study represents a significant milestone in the understanding of Muslim education its terms of reference and recommendations fell short of the desired revolutionary approach that would enhance Muslim education. The study purported to provide substance to the few recommendations on Muslim education contained in the 1952

Binns Commission Report⁸⁵, which unfortunately lent undue emphasis to the teaching of "Arabic and religion at all levels of school life and that the two should be included in the curriculum."⁸⁶ Besides, the major focus of the Report went to groups other than African, hence its failure to provide an analysis of tribal influence on Islam and Muslim education.

African Muslims, with their general apathy towards western education needed more guidance in their education than did non-Africans. Besides African culture never provided much help in the new experience of organising schools, as the Malawian example showed. If Mission schools proved detestable to Muslim parents, Government or community schools, a generally acceptable alternative, were not adequate especially in Malawi where the available few were sited either in urban areas or in predominately non-Muslim territory.

Recommendations of the Commission⁸⁷ included the development of more advanced studies in the Muslim Academy in Zanzibar to constitute a centre for advanced Muslim religious teaching while at an opportune time Islamic subjects should be introduced into a university college like Makerere, both propositions outside the easy reach of Malawian Muslims. The greatest need in all this quest for solutions to Muslim education was, perhaps, improved understanding between Muslim and non-Muslim education policy-makers.

The Griffiths Report was thus followed by a conference for the suggested dialogue concerning education strategies. Convened in Dar-es-Salaam 20-22 November 1958, the Conference provided the first major forum to streamline Muslim education in the region. Malawi took the Conference seriously and sent the Deputy Director of Education, L.A.C. Buchanan as its representative. The outcome of the Conference⁸⁸, however, benefitted Malawi only tangentially in so far as Government, through Buchanan, became aware of the trends in Muslim education in East Africa. Malawi benefitted very little from external influences some of which proved detrimental as was the visit of El-Farsey.

Conclusion

By 1961 Muslim education in Malawi remained a festering sore to development. The blame must be shared by Missions, the Government and the Muslims themselves. In 1961 only 7 out of 21 Muslim schools were grant-aided⁸⁹ and Government did little to come up with a more imaginative approach by way of reorganising the whole system.

This encouraged, in the main, pathetic illiteracy among Muslims which proved a useful divisive strategy in the wake of mass nationalism in Malawi with a minimum of Muslim participation.

The major difficulties in Muslim education remained the lack of cohesive organisation sufficiently experienced in school management in the absence of adequate official Government guidance, and adequate financial assistance for the maintenance of the schools; the requirement for Muslims to provide funds to pay full time religious teachers unqualified for a grant-in-aid; and the enormous difficulty of recruiting certificated secular teachers because of the dearth of Muslim students who qualified for teacher training, and limited facilities for these in the training colleges.⁹⁰ The legacy has proved extremely hard to rectify and the low level of education among Muslims to date has served as the main factor obstructing full participation of Muslims in the economic, administrative and political⁹¹ life of Malawi. In a recent survey of Lilongwe peri-urban area, the highest proportion (52%) of people with no education and the lowest proportion (2%) with secondary education, of all religious groups, were Muslims who constituted only 1% of all university graduates⁹². Despite efforts by the Malawi Government to declare all schools accessible to any pupil regardless of religion, Muslim suspicion of western education has lingered on in defiance of social modernization and change, an unpleasant legacy, with roots in the colonial era, that has proved very hard to change.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER VI

SECULAR EDUCATION FOR AFRICAN MUSLIMS

1. N.A.C.R. (1927/28) 1927 No 1389 p.3.
2. M.C.P. Election Manifesto, 1961, p.7.
3. Edward Alpers, "Towards a History of the Expansion of Islam in East Africa: the Matrilineal Peoples of the Southern Interior", in Ranger, T.O. and Kimambo, I. eds, The Historical Study of African Religion (Heinemann, London, 1972) p.182. Hereinafter Ranger and Kimambo, African Religion.
4. J.S. Trimmingham, ed, Islam in East Africa (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1964) p.28. Hereinafter Trimmingham ed, Islam in East Africa.
5. Ida Ndovi, "Assess the Contribution of the Sheiks to the Spread and Consolidation of Islam in Malawi before 1950", (Mimeographed Seminar Paper, Religious Studies Department, Chancellor College, Zomba, 1981) p.1. Total estimated African population of Malawi in 1921 was 1,199,934 see Murray, A Handbook of Nyasaland, p.40.
6. Some relevant texts are George Shepperson, "Jumbe of Kota Kota and some aspects of the History of Islam in British Central Africa" in I.M. Lewis, ed, Islam in Tropical (O.U.P., London 1966); J.C. Mitchell, "The Political Organisation of the Yao of Southern Nyasaland", African Studies Vol VIII No 3 (Sept 1949).
Idem, "The Yao of Southern Nyasaland", Elizabeth Colson and Max Gluckman eds, Seven Tribes of British Central Africa (Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, Manchester Univ. Press, Manchester, 1961 reprint) pp 292-350.
7. Details in Eric Stokes, "Malawi Political Systems and the Introduction of Colonial Rule 1891-96", Eric Stokes and Richard Brown eds, The Zambezian Past: Studies in Central African History.
A fuller account of Johnston's administration is contained in Harry H. Johnston, British Central Africa (Methuen and Co, London 1897). Hereinafter Johnston, B.C.A.; Roland Oliver, Sir Harry Johnston and the Scramble for Africa (Chatto and Windus, London 1964 reprint) esp. chapters 6-8. Hereinafter Oliver, Johnston.
8. For examples see John McCracken, "Coersion and Control in Nyasaland: A Study of a Colonial Police Force", (History Seminar Paper No 6 1982/83 CC/H/247/83, Chancellor College 7 March 1983) pp 17-18.
9. For orthodox doctrine and ritual of the Koran see H.A.R. Gibb, Mohammedanism (O.U.P., London 1969 paperback edition) ch. 4. Hereinafter, Gibb, Mohammedanism.
10. Robert Greenstein, "Shayks and Tariqas: The Early Muslim 'Ulama and Tariqa Development in Malawi' 1885-1949", (Chancellor College History Seminar 1976/77, Zomba) p.2.

11. Some of the Islamised Chieftaincies of the Shire Highlands included Kawinga, Chikwewe, Liwonde, Chiwallo, Mlomba, Mposa, Chamba, Malemia, Mlumbe, Kadewere, Mpama, Ntchemba and Mkanda.
12. I.C. Lamba, "The Dutch Reformed Church Mission in Malawi.....".
13. Greenstein, "Nyasaland Government Policy Toward African Muslims 1900-1945", in Roderick Macdonald ed, From Nyasaland to Malawi (E.A.P.H., Nairobi, 1980) p.165.
14. Pachai, Malawi p.179.
15. Native Welfare Committee, Memorandum on Native Policy in Nyasaland (Government Printer, Zomba 1939) Ch. II p.12.
16. F.M.T. on "Missionary Methods" in Central Africa Vol LXII Vol LXIII No 749 (May 1945) p.62.
17. F.M.T. in Central Africa Vol LXIII No 753 (Sept 1945) p.110.
18. Report U.M.C.A. Annual Review 1945. p.13.
19. Ibid p.13.
20. Central Africa Vol LXIII No 749 (May 1945) p.160.
21. See Bwalo la Nyasaland, 28 June 1949 (MNA, Zomba). An interesting article is by Ibrahim A.G. Panjwani, "Muslims in Malawi", Journal Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs (King Abdulaziz University, Jeddah) Vol 1 No 2 (1979) Vol 11 No 1 (1980) pp 158-168 especially pp 160-163. Also Lawrence Mkona, "Muslim attitude Towards Formal Schooling: A Case Study of Primary School Enrolment in T.A. Kawinga's Area (Machinga District)", (Chancellor College B.Ed. Essay, June 1982) pp 4-6.

22. The Pupil Roll and average attendance was as follows:

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. on Roll</u>			<u>Average Attendance</u>		
	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Total</u>
1947	38	31	69	35	30	65
1948	69	43	112	62	40	102
1949	71	62	133	60	52	112

Source: File 54/51 Bunaya Amasi to Director of Education, Nov 1949 "Kanyenda African Muhammadam School", Box 3513 (MNA, Zomba).

23. Assistant District Commissioner, Chiradzulu, to Director of Education, 30/3/1950, AFR 326 "Kanyenda African Mohammedan Schools", Box 146 (MNA, Zomba).

24. Director of Education to L.A.C. Buchanan, 12/4/1950 AFR 326 Box 146, (MNA, Zomba).
25. Senior Education Officer, S. Region, to Director of Education, 22/9/1950 MP 54/50 Box 3513 (MNA, Zomba).
26. See Report of the Official Opening Ceremony, MP 54/50 Box 3513 (MNA, Zomba).
27. J. Kambalame to Shaikh Bunaya Amasi, Dec 1953 SMP 54/54 "Muslim Schools - Kanyenda and Chipalamawamba" Box 3513 (MNA, Zomba).
28. Bunaya Amasi to Provincial Education Officer, 4/4/1953 SMP 54/54 Box 3513 (MNA, Zomba).
29. Bunaya Amasi to District Commissioner, Blantyre 26/10/1954 SMP 54/54 Box 3513 (MNA, Zomba).
30. Provincial Education Officer, Blantyre, to Director of Education, Zanzibar, 3/3/1955, File 72/55 "Kanyenda Muhammedan Schools", Box 3513 (MNA, Zomba). Also Saidi Mbaya (Secretary of Nyasaland Students' Committee in Zanzibar) to Provincial Education Officer, Blantyre, 27/4/1955, File Ibid.
31. See Bunaya Amasi to District Commissioner, Blantyre, 6/7/1955 AFR 326 Box 146 (MNA, Zomba).
32. See Ibid.
33. Provincial Education Officer (Blantyre) to Sheikh Bunaya Amasi, 14/12/1956. File 72/55 Box 3513 (MNA, Zomba).
34. A. Thabiti, Manager of Schools, to Provincial Education Officer, 14/4/1956 File 73 "Chipalamawamba Islamic School", Box 3513 (MNA, Zomba).
35. See .Parliamentary Question to Director of Education Feb 1958, SMP 28825 Vol II, "Parliamentary and Legco Questions on Educational Matters", Box 5947 (MNA, Zomba). Also see C3/19/11 Confid. R.F. Stowell (Director of Education) to W.C. Little Dept of African Educ, Lusaka "Mahommedan Education, Confidential" Box 4633 (MNA, Zomba).
36. Director of Education to Acting Chief Secretary, 21/6/1958 Confid., C31/19/11 Box 4633 (MNA, Zomba). Also Director of Education (Zomba) to Director of Education (Zanzibar) 23/7/1958 Confid., C3/19/11 C3/19/11 Box 4633 (MNA, Zomba).
37. Minutes of the Mohammedan Meeting held at Zomba 21/6/1956. File 2/432, "Central Body of Muslim Association", Box 8116 (MNA, Zomba).
38. Ibid.
39. The membership of the Muslim Education Trustees Committee included 20 personalities from Blantyre, Mulanje, Zomba, Mangochi, Source Ibid p.4.

40. District Commissioner, Fort Johnston to Southern Provincial Commissioner, 5/9/1956 File 2/432 Box 8116 (MNA, Zomba).
41. Southern Provincial Education Officer in Minutes of the Mohammedan Meeting of 3-4 May, 1955 at Fort Johnston Boma. File 94, "Mohammedan Education Committee-General Correspondence", Box 3513 (MNA, Zomba).
Provincial Commissioner, Blantyre, to District Commissioner, Fort Johnston 17/9/1956 File 94 Box 3513 (MNA, Zomba).
42. R.F. Stowell, Director of Education, Zomba, to W.C. Little, Dept. of African Education, Lusaka, 14/3/1957 File C3/119/11 "Mohammedan Education Confidential", Box 4633 (MNA, Zomba).
43. Ibid. Also see George Shepperson and Thomas Price, Independent African: John Chilembwe and the Origins, Setting and Significance of the Nyasaland Native Rising of 1915, (Edin. Univ. Press, Edinburgh 1969 reprint) pp 405-408. Hereinafter Shepperson and Price, Independent African.
44. Mins of the Mohammedan Meeting 3-4 May 1955, File 94 Box 3513 (MNA, Zomba).
45. Ibid p.3.
46. Ibid.
47. Some Minutes of the "Nyasaland Muslim Association" carried the same business, especially educational, transacted by the "Central Body of Muslim Association" and also by the "Muslim Association".
48. See for example Southern Provincial Commissioner, Blantyre, to Chief Secretary, Zomba 10/2/1958; File 2/432 "Central Body of Muslim Education", Box 8116 (MNA, Zomba).
49. Ibid.
50. "Rules and Regulations of the Nyasaland and Muslim Association", File 2/432, Box 8116 (MNA, Zomba).
51. Minutes of the Muslim Education Association held at Tepani Village, 24/3/1957 (Sheikh R.A. Karim, President), File 2/432 Box 8116, (MNA, Zomba).
52. See Morris Chow in Ibid p.2.
53. Sheikh R.A. Karim, President, in Mins of the Nyasaland Muslim Association, Mulanje Boma, 10/4/1957, File 94, "Mohamedan Educ. Committee-General Correspondence", Box 3513 (MNA, Zomba).
54. Chief Somba (Trustee) to Director of Education 9/1/1958 File 94 Box 3513 (MNA, Zomba).
55. Ibid.
56. Minutes of the Management Committee of the Kanyenda African Mahomedan School, 15/8/1954 File 54/54 Box 3513 (MNA, Zomba).

57. See Footnote 36 infra.
58. A.A.M. Greig (Ag Director of Education, Zanzibar) to Director of Education, Zomba, 2/8/1958. File C3/19/11 Box 4633 (MNA, Zomba).
59. Director of Education, Zomba, to Director Education, Zanzibar, 13/8/1958 Confidential; File C3/19/11 Box 4633.
60. Director of Education to Kanyenda Manager of Schools, 8/9/1959, File 3/19/11 Box 3680 (MNA, Zomba).
61. Sheikh R.A. Karim (President, N.M.A.) to Southern Provincial Education Officer, 24/1/1959. File 94 Box 3513 (MNA, Zomba).
62. Southern Provincial Education Officer, to Sheikh Karim, 29/1/1959 File 94 Box 3513 (MNA, Zomba).
63. District Commissioner, Dowa, to Secretary for Local Government and Social Services, 15/12/1959. File 3/19/11 Box 3680, (MNA, Zomba).
64. Director of Education to Southern Provincial Education Officer, 3/6/1958. File 2/433 Box 13508, (MNA, Zomba); also "Sukulu ya Kanyenda Idabwitsa Makolo", Bwalo la Nyasaland, June 24 1958.
65. Southern Provincial Education Officer to Director of Education, 2/12/1960, File 2/432 Box 8116 (MNA, Zomba).
66. Central Body of Muslim Education to Central Provincial Education Officer 31/10/1960. File 12/4 "Muslim Education 1959-61", Box 15039 (MNA, Zomba); Central Provincial Education Officer to E.W. Mwandire, 15/12/1960 File 2/432 Box 8116 (MNA, Zomba).
67. E.W. Mwandire to Central Provincial Education Officer 13/6/1961, File 12/4 "Muslim Education, 1959-61", Box 15039 (MNA, Zomba).
68. Central Provincial Education Officer to Director of Education, 3/2/1960, File 2/431, "Muslim Education General", Box 13508 (MNA, Zomba).

69. Central Body for Muslim Education:

4 Assisted Junior Primary Schools
14 Unassisted Schools

African Mahomedan Association (Kanyenda):

1 Senior Primary School
4 Unassisted Schools

Islamic Schools Association: (Managed by Sheikh Thabiti)

1 Assisted Junior Primary School
1 Unassisted Junior Primary School

The unassisted schools were those registered and on the decline.

70. Abdullah Saleh el Farsy to Chief Secretary, 11/4/1960, File SMP 35863 Box 5947 (MNA, Zomba).
71. Director of Education to Secretary for Local Government and Social Services, 30/5/1960. File SMP 35863 Box 5947 (MNA, Zomba).
72. See "Special Problems of Muslim African and Arab Education", p.1, Conference on Muslim Education, Dar es Salaam, 20 Nov 1958. File 3/19/11 Box 3680 (MNA, Zomba).
73. Ibid p.1.
74. Ibid p.1.
75. Minute 17 by J. Mullins, Assistant Secretary, Social Services, to Deputy Secretary of Local Government, 4/6/1960, SMP 35863 "Visit to Sheikh Abdullah Saleh el Frasy". Box 5947 (MNA, Zomba).
76. See "African Commonwealth Muslim College: Constitution, Education Department of African Commonwealth", File 2/432, Box 8116 (MNA, Zomba), Appendix VIII.
77. Ibid. The constitution of the African Commonwealth Muslim College with fake qualifications of D.Litt, D.D., B.A., A.G., TW, D.Ch, B.L., C.A., D.G., some of them non-existent but included to create credibility for himself in the eyes of the outside world, has been included as Appendix VIII.
78. R.T.M. Wareham, Central Provincial Education Officer to District Education Officers, Dowa/Kasungu, Dedza/Ntcheu, Lilongwe/Fort Manning (Mchinji), 31 October 1961. File 12/4 "Muslim Education", Box 15039 (MNA, Zomba).
79. M.C.P. Manifesto p.7.
80. See SMP 35863, el Farsy's report, p.2 Box 5947 (MNA, Zomba).
81. Director of Education in Zanzibar, "The Position of Women in Muslim Education", File 3/19/11 Box 3680 (MNA, Zomba).
82. Report by the Fact Finding Mission to Study Muslim Education in East Africa (East Africa High Commission, Government Printer, Nairobi 1958). File 3/19/11, Box 3680 (MNA, Zomba).
83. African Muslims numbered 2½ million, Tanganyika alone with 1½ million, Kenya 189,000-269,000, Zanzibar C.200,000, Uganda 250,000. Ibid p.3.
84. Report Ibid p.1. The study was undertaken by V.L. Griffiths And R.B. Serjeant. Hereinafter Griffiths Report.
85. Binns Report 1952.
86. Appendix to Griffiths Report p.23.
87. See Summary of recommendations, Griffiths Report. pp ii-iii.
88. Details of the Conference on File 3/19/11, "Mohamadam Education", Box 3680 (MNA, Zomba).

89. Phillips Report, p.88

90. Ibid p.88.

91. In August 1982 only 7 out of 107 Members of Parliament were Muslim. Bone, "Towards a History of Islam", p.11.

92. Bone, Ibid p.11.

CHAPTER VII

EDUCATION FOR THE ASIAN AND COLOURED COMMUNITIES

Though the number of ... the Indian community is very substantial, ... about 3,000 in all, Government has paid very insignificant attention to the educational needs of Indian children.¹

The difficult question of half-caste education has been considered on more than one occasion by the Advisory Committee on Education in Nyasaland, always with the same result, namely, a resolution to the effect that provision of separate facilities is not recommended.²

As the above quotations show, education for Asians and the so-called coloured children defied policy-makers in their attempted response to charges of Government neglect of the education of such minorities. The factors at play in this type of education were many and this chapter seeks to discuss these and the general dynamics.

Up to 1961 Asian and Coloured education still lagged behind that of Europeans. The internal disagreements both within the Asian and Coloured communities were occasionally used by Government in self-defence, as will be shown later. This situation differed from that of Europeans. The important aspect to note was the heavy pressure on a Government, already with a major commitment to the education of the African majority. Asians and Coloureds have appeared together in this discussion in line with the official educational policy of the time, a big error which only created problems based on cultural and racial disparities too wide for the attempted integration exercise. On their part the Asian and Coloured communities struggled for a legitimate entitlement to a social service from the Protectorate Government. This inescapable fact of responsibility in fact represented a trend of the country's social history characterising the colonial Government's early socio-economic policies.

Background to the Asian³Factor

The history of Asians in Malawi dates back to the period of Harry Johnston, the first Commissioner and Consul-General from 1891 to 1896. Imbued with the idea of developing the Protectorate in the shortest possible time Johnston considered the encouragement of commerce as one of the ways to realise his dream. Given the shoestring budget of about £17,500 per annum provided through

Cecil John Rhodes's imperial benevolence to run the country's administration,⁴ Johnston's task proved extremely unenviable, and one method of supplementing the slender budget lay in potential taxes to be levied from both individuals and businesses. The Indian factor featured in his mind as of great use as traders who would not only generate taxes and customs duty but also assist in the general development of the country. To Johnston Europeans could not form a trading class and the African Lakes Company's dismal performance⁵ in Malawi only strengthened his view. Asians also represented a civilizing agency. This stood, in general, as one of the few instances when Asians came to a country invited and wanted, for after Johnston Asian immigration was not the most welcome in colonial circles, particularly as the size of the Asian population rapidly overtook that of Europeans.

Johnston's policy of development hinged on functional multi-racialism in which a racial pyramid of white at the top, yellow in the middle, and black at the bottom worked in a complementary manner. As he himself declared, the country "must be ruled by whites, developed by Indians, and worked by blacks"⁶. The future complications of such racial composition never occurred to him, particularly any likelihood of Asian aspiration, apart from the commercial enterprise, to the role of Europeans and a claim of equal access to citizenship and other social and economic opportunities. Johnston never moved from his belief in Nyasaland being "administered under the benevolent despotism of the Imperial Government"⁷ although he was "all for Indianizing Central Africa and making these great waste lands the seats of thriving Indian colonies where something better than the rude agriculture of Africa can be practised, and where the Negro can be improved by a mixture of Indian thrift and industry"⁸.

The Asian's role as a trader proved the most predominant and when his fight for educational facilities gathered momentum the greatest emphasis went to his economic contribution. Given the ignorance and lack of capital of Africans in matters of trade the Asian's commercial acumen exploited the African scene, sometimes very ruthlessly, and succeeded in monopolising commerce for a long time to the exclusion of Africans.⁹

Asians succeeded in trade not only because of commercial expertise but also because of their thrift and industry and the

ability to prop up one another with financial support in loans and a tight family organisation and mutual assistance to minimize paid labour. Asians, reputed for manipulation and dishonest bargaining skills which took advantage of villager naivete, and their proficiency in the local language, won African confidence. Most Asian traders, who proliferated even into the remotest rural areas to dominate business lived simple lives, almost like African villagers, a life quite often characterised by dishonesty, intrigue and excessive shrewdness in their commercial transactions with the rural Africans whose general ignorance the Asian exploited to his advantage. The Asians' living accommodation often left much to be desired and the crowded conditions defied all concepts and rules of hygiene. The rural Asian led almost a full life, enjoying all the glory and honour from his wretched neighbour, the African peasant, whose meagre income from agricultural produce the Asian anxiously waited for fleecing. In general, demands for western education essentially came from the more urban Asians with their fast cosmopolitanism. In any case the rural Indian's major concern was to impart to his children only some functional literacy in Gujarati, and some figures for trading purposes. This type of Asian conceived his role as that of an individual attempting to build himself and his family on the spoils from the African midst. But the urban Asian, while cherishing his role above the African in the racial pyramid, perceived the survival of the Asian beyond money accumulation to extend to the field of western education. If Asian businessmanship proved a competitive threat to European commerce which seemed easily eclipsed, Asian education would ensure even further competition in professions for a long time a European monopoly. This dichotomy characterised the Eur-Asian relationship in the Asian's struggle for western education in a situation where, unlike most of the Europeans, they saw themselves as permanent settlers.

Pre-1945 Demands for and Trends in Asian Education

Up to the early 1930's non-African education in Malawi denoted almost exclusively that of Europeans. From 1930 Asian demands for western educational facilities assumed a more vigorous form to conduct some schools even without Government financial support although the pressure for this support and a demand for a definite Government educational policy for Asians continued. Asian argument for facilities for their children's education centred around their economic contribution¹⁰ which was almost as much as, if

not more than, that of the average European whose educational demands received official Government attention from as early as the 1920's¹¹. But the Asian request was more unwelcome mainly on the official grounds that "Mission schools established for Africans have in many cases admitted Indian and half-caste children"¹². Once financial assistance had been extended to Europeans, the Government seemed more unwilling to attend to Asian demands not only as a money-saving device but also to avert any antagonism from the European side.

By 1930, therefore, Asians took the drastic step of applying, through the Limbe Indian Federation, for official permission to open with their own money an Asian School in Limbe. This application indeed caught Government on the wrong foot concerning policy. Government always claimed it realised its responsibility over Asian education but without doing much. Government simply emphasized financial assistance on clear evidence of parental initiative and willingness to finance a school. In his official address to the Advisory Committee on Education Governor Kittermaster's¹³ omission of any mention of Indian education seemed to confirm to the Asian community the careless official Government attitude towards that education.

In a way problems in Asian education originated both from the purely administrative angle and from the internal situation among the Asians themselves, as shown later. In the first place, just like in Southern Rhodesia¹⁴ (now Zimbabwe) Government uncertainty regarding whether Asian and Coloured educational responsibility fell under the missionary or government orbit of concern took sometime to resolve. But more than this the determinant of official policy towards Asian education had much to do with relations between Asians and Europeans. Although the two communities seemed to enjoy some close relations in official, business and even in ceremonial and social circles such occasions in reality constituted a superficial relationship¹⁵ for beneath all this lay the European self-consciousness as the supreme community with both racial and cultural superiority over Asians and Africans. European Government officials cannot be excluded from this type of bigoted thinking.

The Asian case for official educational assistance was made more complicated by internal divisions amongst the Asians themselves

which the Protectorate Government utilised to block Asian demands. Foremost of these negative factors were religious divisions and differences which proved devastating and often operated against the presentation of a common front to Government.¹⁶ As the Dotsons suggest, religion formed "the sharpest and most persistent line of cleavage",¹⁷ often maintained by mutually derogatory stereotypes which created the wall of division. The religious situation was compounded by the belief in caste among the Asians. At any rate political developments in India formed a further complication in a country like Malawi with a Muslim majority among the Asians. The nationalist politics of Mahatma Gandhi, a Hindu, met ^{the} antagonism of the Muslim minority in India who feared political and religious domination in prospective independent Hindu-dominated India. Indian organisations abroad gave expression to this politico-religious dichotomy.¹⁸ Such divisions were absent among the European settlers who, in their fight for education, avoided any allusion to religion. Asians grouped themselves separately even in sporting activities.

Until 1938 the only major pressure group for Asians remained the Indian Chamber of Commerce. The Chamber brought together all Asians engaged in trade which formed their common occupational interest, given the fact that about 99% of all Asians were in commerce. The Chamber cut across religious lines and its initial preoccupation was with commercial matters like trading licences, customs and excise, and other related issues. It must be remembered that although Malawi was generally said to be multi-racial, racism was not unknown and the Indian Chamber of Commerce operated parallel to a similar organisation for Europeans who also had the Convention of Associations as the umbrella organisation for European interests. In 1938 Asians made an attempt at the formation of a similar umbrella organization to deal with various matters including education hitherto handled sporadically by their Chamber of Commerce. On 23rd July of that year five Asian groups, the Indian Chamber of Commerce, the Indian Traders' Association, the Indian Sports Club, the Goan Social Club and the Oriental Club, met in response to the necessity of the Community to organise itself with a view to safeguarding and improving the Community's interests and status in the Protectorate. 1938 appeared particularly proper for this action because it was in that year when the Colonial Office

demonstrated its concern over the development of Malawi's economic and other services by dispatching the Bell Commission ¹⁹ for a closer on-the-spot examination of the situation. The most conspicuous aspect of the Bell Report was the absence of mention of Asian education. The significance of the Bell Commission lies in its timing just before the Second World War and when Britain's colonial policy seemed ripe for re-examination. The most important development among the Asians in Malawi was the effort to meet a felt need for an Association of the Indian Community; a working committee was formed.

Government welcomed the effort, and the proposed Association of the Indian Community was seen as likely to be "most useful to Government and will apparently serve the same purposes as the Convention of Associations".²⁰ Government hoped this to be the first step towards inter-racial amalgamation of the two bodies,²¹ although such hope was of course empty as the European settlers' view of such racial harmony, beyond occasional socialising and official meeting, was not acceptable.²² And indeed the Post-War Development Plan of 1945 ensured the formation of racially separate Advisory Committees on Education, one for each racial community. The post-1945 period opened a difficult chapter in Asian education in Malawi.

Inter-war Trends in Coloured Education

The dynamics and problems in Coloured education bore some similarities with those in Asian education. To a certain extent Coloured education faced more complex problems of ethnic definition and acceptability in a country progressively getting into the grip of racial discrimination. To complicate matters the official attempts to group Asian and Coloured communities together in matters of education, a short-sighted policy, only glossed over a volatile situation as racial identities assumed importance in the struggle for facilities.

The status of the Coloured community presented a serious challenge to official policy-makers. The first problem concerned the establishment of an identity for a community of an extremely ambiguous and ambivalent definition. The question of whether the Coloured deserved African or non-African treatment in educational matters demanded resolution and the quest for a clear policy affected even the Colonial Office. The social stigma accompanying

wife's visits to Africa, the African woman attended to the sexual needs of the whiteman. In general these were relationships mostly devoid of any real emotional attachment. For example, in the event of the Asian wife being in a position to come out, say to Malawi the African woman and her coloured children would be asked to leave the Asian's premises, marking the end of the relationship. Few Asians supported the coloured children afterwards, but the "divorced" mother who in fact contributed significantly in building up the Asian trader into a wealthy man simply slid into oblivion. So that very little in common existed between even coloureds and Asians, the Asian coloureds preferring to emulate Europeans.

The major issue of classification of the coloured revolved around residence, the status of ancestry and exposure to the father's culture.²⁹ While Europeans saw coloureds and Asians as forming one community, attempts to associate the coloured community with Europeans were thwarted by the latter as one dangerous inroad of potential disaster to white racial pride and bigotry. In any case the coloured community occupied a position of uncertainty, and according to them a status of acceptability into the European ranks would lead to the erosion of the prestige of the whiteman's leadership position. Asians, below the white in status, thus constituted the right community to absorb the coloured element. On their part Asians considered such a policy as degrading to their community because coloureds to them were of African stock. Within the coloured community itself, while some considered themselves Africans, and many did especially those with Asian fathers, others who came to call themselves Anglo-Africans saw and elevated their position even higher than that of Asians. This situation gave rise to the crisis of the legal definition of the coloured, a matter affecting even the Colonial Office.

In 1931 the question arose of a "half caste" who applied for land in a Native Trust Area³⁰. The matter came up when a coloured boy in Thyolo expressed an interest to lease 200 acres of land in a Native Trust Area; this provoked an official hunt for a proper definition of the coloured. Was he entitled to lease land, and in a "native" area? The matter is not educational but related to it in so far as rights for the coloured community would dictate the type of Government response to the community's

demands, educational and otherwise. The Acting Governor's reply in the Tyolo case exposed His Excellency's uncertainty, and recourse to Ordinance No. 25 of 1929 gave only marginal assistance.³¹

Although the final decision in the Tyolo case ran against leasing any non-Crown land in Thyolo to anybody³² the proper guidelines still had to be sought from the Colonial Office where the complexity of the matter led Lord Passfield, the Colonial Secretary, to refer it to the Conference of East African Governors³³ at a time when the Anglo-Africans through their Anglo-African Association were demanding to pay the non-African poll tax rather than the African hut tax as a calculated strategy to share the benefits accruing to the European world and status.³⁴ Lord Passfield was concerned about the need for a policy that created a home-base for the Coloured community. The existing legislation was unsuitable because "native half-castes must legally remain non-natives in Nyasaland, irrespective of the standard and mode of their life."³⁵ Up until 1929 the Nyasaland Interpretation Ordinance sufficed in the classification and treatment of the Coloured community as "natives" but by the close of the 1920's the "few better educated half-castes who are protesting against being classified as natives" led to the re-examination of a vague High Court stipulation which excluded them even from the term 'native'.³⁶ The Coloured population was undesirable both to Government and to the African majority although Malawi still possessed a comparatively small number of them; and among these a good many maintained the sense of belonging to the "native" population.³⁷ The few demanding a higher identity were in fact those prepared to pay the non-native Poll Tax of £2 instead of a Native Hut Tax of 6 shillings.

The Attorney-General considered as misleading, terms such as Anglo-African or Eur-African which excluded Asiatic Coloureds. His proposed definition designated a "Coloured person" as "any person of mixed European or Asiatic and native descent, who does not live after the manner of members of the aboriginal tribes or races of Africa".³⁸ The definition placed on the various authorities the burden of deciding in each case the individual's residence and pattern of life, a horribly cumbersome exercise.

Pre-1945 Coloured Educational Demands

The question of Coloured education featured quite early

in the Anglo-African Association. According to the Association its claim to the provision of a good education by Government and good employment would be buttressed by the demand to pay the poll tax. At this time Coloureds paid either the 'native' hut tax or no tax at all in the absence of a proper and legally defined status for them. The Coloured community's belief in educational advancement was emphasized at a time of demonstrated interest by other organisations like the National Council of Women to fight for educational facilities for half-caste girls where none were "available beyond what is available for natives, i.e. village, central and station Mission schools".³⁹ While Government view stressed on the available African facilities at boarding schools, such as existed at Livingstonia and Blantyre⁴⁰, as sufficiently meeting the needs for Coloured female education, the position taken by the all-white National Council of Women represented the attitude in some white circles about Coloureds who in their view seemed to deserve facilities better than those of the Africans, but below European standards.

But the matter of Coloured education was not just a Coloured and European concern, for the African interest had to be accorded an expression in the education of their "children". This view, however, was not shared by the Anglo-African Association whose attitude proved condescending to the "Africans".

The most confounding aspect to most Africans about the Coloureds was their arrogant attitude towards their mothers' race which they generally no longer considered suitable for marriage lest the Coloureds "'married down', i.e. native wives and native husbands, unhappily to the extinction of their race..⁴¹ In a way the Coloured proved more racist than his own European or Asian father who established a social union with a black woman. So that to the Coloured community education stood as a useful tool to "marry up" and therefore a racist prop. Thus although some of the expressed reasons in the demands for separate Coloured educational facilities included the inhospitability of the African school environment where they experienced bullying in various forms as "children without a race", and although Government paid extra grants to those African schools taking in Coloureds, the most important factor was racial pride and bigotry. It must however be noted that this so-called racial pride seemed more

with Anglo-Africans than with Indo-Africans as the former were generally more enlightened than the latter within the existing divisions between the two "groups". As a "race" the Anglo-Africans wanted separate schools like Europeans and Asians.⁴²

But there was no doubt that it would have pleased most Europeans to see Coloureds "marrying down" to extinguish the ambivalent race and its educational and other problems.⁴³ On the other hand Africans saw the Coloured community as a source of irritation with its exotic culture aped from Europeans; and the ensuing debate on Coloured education in the Advisory Committee of Education in 1934 with Mumba's full participation simply revealed the complexity of the matter as the Anglo-African Association demanded a full Government primary school and an aided one to provide free elementary education for all Anglo-African children⁴⁴ within the framework of separate education.

To the discomfort of the Coloured community Levi Mumba proved extremely analytical of the Coloured educational demands. In a most thought-out memorandum Mumba argued against free elementary education for one section of the community which in fact paid no tax (by 1933) instead of including the whole 'African' community among whom he added the Coloureds. In any case all Africans contributed to their education through taxes, besides paying school fees. Mumba's emphasis rested on the need for equality of Africans with the so-called half-castes, whom he considered to constitute part of the African⁴⁵, partly in an effort to create an identity and assistance for the Coloured community. In Mumba's opinion if separate schools for people of different colours did not exist in Europe, Malawi could not justify the creation of such institutions.

On its part the Coloured community felt slighted by Mumba's reactions which in fact influenced Government policy towards Coloured education. The support received by Mumba in the Advisory Committee provoked a bitter memorandum⁴⁶ from the Anglo-African Association which confirmed the Coloured community's arrogance.⁴⁷ At stake in this whole debate of Coloured education was the quest for racial identity for as the memorandum clearly indicated, education would be "the foundation stone in the building up of his (Coloured) community as a race and, in course of time, as a nation."⁴⁸ Any competition with "natives" in demands for education

threatened the Coloured dream for eventual domination over the former within the mounting racial consciousness of the time. Educational equality with "natives" was unacceptable. "We really and truly seek differential treatment..."⁴⁹ It was important for the prestige of the Coloured to disown his African or "native" connection in order to launch effective demands for free elementary and separate education. The scathing anti-African remarks, however, failed to assist Government in its search for a policy for Coloured education. In fact even the Colonial Secretary, Cunliffe-Lister, preferred to push the issue onto the local official colonial scene for policy formulation.⁵⁰

While pressure on Government from the Convention of Associations, to which the Anglo-African Association was affiliated, and the National Council of Women mounted, Government policy towards Coloured education remained in a state of flux. For Government two alternatives open included continued attendance of Coloured children at non-European mission schools or Asian schools, especially at primary level. Even the European backing for Coloured education fell short of suggesting mixing Coloured and European children in school for fear of instilling into the Coloured community a feeling of equality with Europeans by attending the same schools. On the other hand separate Coloured schools would entail competition with whites, something resented by a section of Europeans.⁵¹ Thus officialdom seemed inclined on the second alternative on joint Asian schools and Coloured education. But when in 1933 Muslim Asians in Limbe and Zomba⁵² opened two private schools, this latter alternative failed to provide educational security and advancement for the Coloured community as these institutions deserved no Government subsidy "until they have undoubted educational effectiveness and admitted Indian children irrespective of religion or caste"⁵³, conditions difficult to fulfil in a society torn by internal religious divisions. Government assistance to any school started by Indian parents would be forthcoming "as soon

as it is evident that the school is firmly established and supported".⁵⁴ The Zomba and Limbe schools were closed before the end of 1934 owing, according to Government, to "lack of support by parents"⁵⁵, a neat method by Government of shunning financial responsibility. The Zomba school was only reopened in 1936.

Government favoured the policy of joint Indian-Coloured education which unfortunately represented an oversimplification of the actual operational mechanics of such "forced love". Government and the European community at large tried to play down the enormous cultural differences of the two communities which they considered to be alike and therefore deserving some equality in status. It is correct that in Southern Rhodesia segregation in public amenities applied to both groups but indignities formed perhaps the only, but superficial, area of association between these deprived people. When Mrs Dalvi, wife of an Indian doctor in Limbe, opened her private joint Indian-Coloured School in Limbe in 1935 Government support for the venture, when introduced, extended to include a grant the following year as the institution was in line with Government policy. As a test case, Dalvi's educational experiment needed close monitoring and indeed so, for as early as 1937 it triggered off an explosive debate when some influential Indian parents registered strong objection to the racial arrangement at Mrs Dalvi's school. The situation revealed to Government, for the first time, the failure of its assumption and formula, at least for the moment, to diffuse fundamental differences between the two racial groups, unlike the position in Northern and Southern Rhodesia.⁵⁶ Such reorganisation of racial communities met vehement reactions not only from the conservative Indians but also from notable Malawians like Levi Mumba who continued to oppose the whole principle as a segregationist plot against any prospects for a unified approach of the underprivileged against official injustices.

The policy of joint schools for the two groups ignored the fact that "Indians dislike and fear Coloureds (while) Coloureds, on the other hand, have reacted predictably to their rejection by a group which in turn is generally downgraded."⁵⁷ Asians considered Coloureds as lacking in morals and therefore a danger to their children while Coloureds looked upon Asians as dishonest, conservative and uncivilised. In brief the two communities

were incompatible and their joint education could not materialise except through some official coercion. The Coloured community resented the policy as one way to the disappearance of their 'race'.

By 1944, the annual Government education report talked of "Indian Education" with "Coloured" dropped. It became more and more clear to the Coloured people that their identity was under the threat of extinction. The major affront to their pride was that in the three Indian Schools in 1939, increased to four by 1944, Gujarati served as the medium of instruction in Blantyre and Zomba schools while English was used only at Limbe. This led to a situation where only "a few halfcaste children attend the Limbe school but most of them are to be found in Mission African Schools"⁵⁸ where most Missions charged higher fees for them than for the ordinary African pupils. As a consolation, Government awarded four bursaries in 1941 to Coloured children to attend a local Indian School while accommodation for two other children was secured at a Northern Rhodesian Coloured school.⁵⁹ This amounted to an insult to the Coloured community, given the large numbers of their children, and a tantalizing experience to get to a separate Coloured school in a neighbouring territory. Adding to the already existing irritation and frustration among the Coloureds, all the four Indian Schools were by 1944 benefitting from Government grants as joint-schools, and enrolling a total of over 200 pupils⁶⁰, rising to 362 (231 boys and 131 girls) in 1945⁶¹

Educational Demands of the Post-1945 Period

Demands for a separate Coloured school through the Anglo-African Association under the determined Chairmanship of Henry Ascroft as early as 1933 have been noted. But as long as divisions existed between the Anglo-Africans and Indo-Africans, Government observed^e the vendetta and turned down any request for a Coloured school which in fact would operate as an Anglo-African institution. Mission schools, however, made no distinction in the funny names and discomfort given to the Coloured pupils. But the struggle for a Coloured school which was led to victory in 1943, when Governor E.C. Richards granted the request, was championed by the Anglo-Africans without any reference to Indo-Africans.

The internal racial divisions within the Coloured community

was an old story which became more conspicuous in the demand for a school and only weakened the struggle. Anglo-Africans or Eur-Africans undermined the status of Indo-Africans and what led to their anger was the fact that some Indo-Africans were sometimes classified as Indians, a boost to their status which sometimes won them much better jobs from Europeans.⁶² European parents proved more rigid in this matter and never upgraded their hybrid offspring into their own social and racial classification. Besides, some of those Indo-Africans with rich Asian fathers were sent to India for education, something never experienced by Eur-Africans, and this reduced the Indo-Africans' enthusiasm for a common demand for a Coloured school. The wealthy Indian parents could in fact finance a small institution like the Balaka Indo-African School without recourse to Government financial assistance.⁶³ A case in point was that of Haji Osman, a wealthy Asian trader based at Balaka where most of the Indo-Africans in the Balaka school came from. Haji Osman had many Indo-African children who eventually formed a kind of "Indo-African village" which significantly patronised the Indo-African school at Balaka. But although an Indo-African Association⁶⁴ operated before 1945, it would seem that the Indo-African schools owed their origins to individual initiative. The two Coloured Associations therefore failed to reach agreement on educational strategy which would have promoted a unified front for them.

The success of Eur-Africans in getting a Eur-African School in 1943 had its ramifications. Firstly, it represented Government recognition of the Eur-African 'race' as deserving separate schools. This enhanced the status of the community. Secondly this drew the Coloured further away from his "native" base. Thirdly the 1943 decision encouraged the condescending attitude of the Coloureds towards Africans, and Eur-African education contributed significantly to the birth in 1944 of the Nyasaland African Congress through which leaders like James F. Sangala demanded improved educational facilities for Africans as well.⁶⁵ In fact as Tangri has noted, Coloureds will "go down in history as the chief progenitor of the N.A.C."⁶⁶. Besides it also hardened segregationist attitudes against the Coloured in the so-called Indian schools.⁶⁷

The Government decision to grant the request for a Coloured school came at a time of other bottlenecks like Government Education

Rule 70 which read:

Pupils other than Asian pupils shall not,
except with the approval of the Director,
be reckoned for the purpose of calculating
the amount of the grant

to assisted Asian schools⁶⁸; and the South African immigration authorities demanded from end-1944 refundable deposit from the few Coloured pupils from Malawi attending schools in the Union.⁶⁹

The Report of the Post-War Development Committee of 1945 raised hopes for Asian and Coloured education but without solving the actual problems of Asian-Coloured relations, and those of Eur-Africans and Indo-Africans in the suggested provision for the education of these communities. Regarding Asian education the Committee agreed that:

during the five-year development plan period the Asian schools should continue on a grant-in-aid basis and that after the five years is concluded, the provision of a Government Central School for Asians in Nyasaland should be considered.⁷⁰

Besides the above provision, another suggestion involved the necessity of raising present grants and making available capital grants towards structural alternations to existing school buildings and the construction of boarding hostels while boarding grants for poor Asian children would be considered and grants would be made "to the School to enable a reduction of fees together with a certain number of free places"⁷¹ in preference to a bursary provision to Asian parents. The picture for education looked promising with a proposal to operate a scholarship programme on the same basis as for Europeans.

The consideration for Asian education in the Plan did not, however, seem to envisage joint Coloured-Asian education. The numerical deficiency of the Coloured population at approximately 1800 in 1945 was compounded by the Government failure to take into account both the Eur-African and Indo-African factions and the figure seems to have included only Eur-Africans who tended to form the preponderant factor in Government policy consideration. This problem was to surface time and again. For the moment Eur-African pressure was the major issue.⁷² Bursaries and scholarships would be extended to Eur-Africans on the same lines as for Europeans

and Asians. It is however, clear that, in general, Asian education seemed to occupy a more favoured position. In fact the new Education Ordinance of 1945 covered all population groups except the Coloured community. The Ordinance was clearly geared for separate racial schools as implied in the stipulation in Rule 70.⁷³

The opening of the Coloured School in Blantyre in October 1946 had to overcome difficult technical hurdles. The Colonial Office⁷⁴ accepted the idea but failed to agree with the Governor's proposal of £16,000 building costs for the small number of children to be enrolled in the school. The proposed school planned to accommodate 100 boarders and, originally estimated for £5,000⁷⁵, received Colonial Office support in principle; but the new figure of £16,130 provoked the debate on the difficulty of justifying a C.D. and W. contribution of that magnitude to one community.⁷⁶ Governor Richards was finally forced to stick to the original £5,000 to come from the C.W. and D.F. general allocation of £2 million to the Protectorate.⁷⁷

Some of the interesting provisions of the Eur-African School included the eventual attainment of a full primary range, introduction of Portuguese at a later stage, use of English as a medium of instruction and an embargo on Chichewa (Chinyanja - the local African vernacular) as a teaching subject to avoid diluting the European character of the Eur-African, and free tuition but a boarding fee of £18 per annum to be charged, "subject to part or even full remission in the cases of proved poverty".⁷⁸

That Government undertook to provide the Coloured School was beyond mere debate by 1943 but official misgivings about the community continued and Governor Richard's own assessment of the Coloureds designated them as a "corrupt group" even as late as 1945.⁷⁹ However, whatever the position two things were clear about Coloured primary education. In 1946 it became a reality as a separate system; besides, it was to be conducted in a manner by all means superior to African education.

When the school opened in October 1946 it started as a day school of 30 pupils (11 boys and 19 girls)⁸⁰ with Miss P.C. Kirkcaldy, a Coloured, as Assistant mistress. Initially called the Eur-African School, which excluded Indo-Africans, the project revealed the smallness of the size of this branch of Coloureds which unfortunately

Government recognised as representative and deserving of the assistance. Government in fact committed itself to complete the boarding accommodation immediately on numerical justification for such a course of action.

The problem of numbers at the school was serious and a threat to its survival. It therefore became necessary for the Anglo-African Association to request Government assistance in the recruitment of pupils by asking District Commissioners and Native Authorities to advertise these educational facilities to village mothers of Eur-African children.⁸¹ The exercise led to discomfort for some village Coloureds who, after full integration in the village and rural African school, had to face separation and alienation from their mother's kith and kin with all the psychological pain and disorders associated with such experience. Some Africans now adopted a harsh racist attitude against the Coloureds whose separate identity had received Government recognition through the school. But in this development also lay the thorn characterising Asian-Coloured educational relations in later years.

As cursorily indicated, one of the most difficult considerations in Coloured education was finance. Eur-African support from missionaries was lukewarm and could not be relied upon.⁸² The Eur-African's means of existence were only marginal and any financial assistance from other sources to boost his status was sought. Government educational policy, though not strictly followed, was generally based on a "self help" basis and its role was only to assist each community's local initiative. Asians on the contrary were different and had the money-power. This explains the large number of Eur-African's requests for bursaries and it was clear that at some stage some co-operation with Asians in educational matters would have to be sought by the Eur-Africans although this step did not come until 1950. One of the interesting aspects of colonial educational policy was that of extending greater assistance to the well-to-do. For example from 1947 every Eur-African pupil studying outside the Protectorate would be entitled to a flat bursary of £21 a year while the entitlement of a European child was £30 free educational allowance. The only safeguard for Eur-Africans was ofcourse the stipulation for additional money to meet the difference where the fees exceeded £21 a year.⁸³

The early years of the Eur-African School proved hard to the mistress; teaching singlehandedly a large group of a "wide age-range speaking different languages presented many difficulties"⁸⁴. Delays in obtaining adequate consumable equipment only worsened matters while medical inspection revealed a number of under-nourished children with little knowledge of hygiene. An educational inspection report painted no brighter picture at all about the children's outlook. The Government Eur-African School conducted classes at the junior primary for 37 children (18 boys and 19 girls) with an average attendance of 35 and costing £379.⁸⁵ The earlier expectation of Northern Rhodesian participation in the school had failed to materialise. But Government attached considerable importance to the opening of the school as one way of reducing payment of fees outside the country. In any case the popular St John's school in Salisbury could by 1946 no longer accommodate all the Nyasaland Eur-African children seeking admission there⁸⁶ and Government would have to pay bursaries higher than £21 per annum elsewhere. At any rate the inauguration of the Eur-African School represented success for the Eur-African community in its fight for separate identity. But the accompanying euphoria of this success could only be shortlived and superficial.

By 1947 Government was already rethinking its policy towards Eur-African education, particularly in view of practice elsewhere like Southern Rhodesia. In fact, as the Central African Council created in 1945 established its roots, this education formed one of the areas of the Council's concern.⁸⁷ Questions from the public included whether joint Coloured and Asian education should be the policy in the region and at which level, primary or secondary. Then there was also the question of whether Government should continue to recognise only Eur-African demands to the neglect of Indo-Africans. Besides all this, Government attitude towards the treatment of Eur-African teachers needed improvement to attract good material. For example while it was bad enough to expect pupils in need of boarding facilities to board with willing parents in Blantyre/Limbe it was worse for the Director of Education to suggest "a simple structure, probably grass thatched"⁸⁸ for the house of the new Eur-African teacher, C.E. Oliphant recruited from Southern Rhodesia. In any case the Eur-African request for compulsory education in competition against Europeans was

summarily rejected by the Director of Education although the pronounced lame excuse was shortage of accommodation and staff. The period 1948 to 1950 thus witnessed some revolutionary developments in Eur-African education.

Meanwhile Asian education was also proving an important matter in official discussion but probably less volatile than Eur-African education. With their "European" approach to official business and arguments the Eur-Africans had an upperhand over Asians in educational demands. This, however, simply hardened Asian conservatism and in a way operated positively to promote unity and solidarity of the different castes and religious groups. This was particularly so with the creation of the Advisory Committee on Asian Education in 1945.

The Indian private educational initiatives and efforts up to 1936 have been noted, with some special significance attached to Mrs Dalvi's Asian-Coloured School as a problem spot in racial integration. These Asian schools were launched as a protest against the view by Europeans ^{expecting} to ~~let~~ Asian children to attend African Mission schools. Within the decade 1929-1938 not less than four schools had been opened and closed in Limbe and most of the schools except Mrs Dalvi's Mudi Cottage⁸⁹ School and the Zomba School objected to the admission of Coloured children. In a way Indian Schools seemed to operate as a calculated educational risk and the three operating in 1939 were one-teacher institutions.

However the real tempo in Indian, like Eur-African, education remains a story of the post-war period. No significant changes took effect in the pre-1945 period although the Indian grants-in-aid rules approved in 1942 led to some increase in attendance at all the 3 schools together with a fourth one opened in Limbe. The number of Asian pupils attending the four aided schools totalled only 147⁹⁰, increasing to 200 in 1944.

In the post-1945 period official policy, generally based on the Post-War Development Plan, clearly saw African education as a priority obligation for Government. However, Asians could not be dismissed as a legitimate Government concern since 90% of the total in Malawi were "British Asians". The 1945 deal could not have been more favourable for Asian education for, apart from rising grants within the next 5 years, construction of boarding hostels, boarding grants for poor Asian children

were to be made available with a provision for a number of free places instead of bursaries to Asian parents. Also bursaries for secondary education were to be provided to schools in Africa outside the Protectorate for selected pupils completing a full course locally, the basis for the bursary being the boarding fee usually charged at that school.⁹¹ The implementation of these proposals, however, represented a different story, especially as the country's budget for the period 1945-1955 experienced a reduction from £1,456,977 and £108,846 to £1,227,053 and £82,346 for recurrent and special/capital expenditure⁹² respectively and occasioned by revisions in the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund allocations.

However, although Government seemed fairly sympathetic to Asian education, the gesture was not rewarded with adequate enthusiasm from the Asian community whose approach, still characterised by the effects of earlier divisions and entrepreneurship, suffered from general malaise. For example in 1946 each Indian school was asked to send in a statement showing separately its needs for 1946, 1947 and 1948, with particular reference to any extra teaching staff and/or accommodation, and to any reduction of fees that might be contemplated; only items of immediate urgency were to be shown for 1946 and any additional grant from Government, over the existing per capita grants, necessary for the execution of the proposals had to be clearly indicated. Only two of the four schools replied by March 1947 and neither of these had answered the questions by submitting figures supported by detailed estimates of requirements.⁹³ When Dayaram, an Asian Member of the Legislative Council, proposed a raise of the grant-in-aid for Indian education from £5 to £10 per head of average attendance, the Director of Education politely suggested deferment of the topic until it could be forwarded to Government with supporting figures. Consequently while Government sounded willing to aid Asian primary education, the same could not be said about the demanded local Indian secondary school. In fact, asking Dayaram to supply the usual scarce figures of those Asian youths seeking secondary education, the Director of Education "reminded him that the majority preferred to enter business (commerce) after completing their primary course."⁹⁴ In general, the Asian's only academic need in life never exceeded, according to Government, the requirements of commercial transactions.⁹⁵

The only major development in Asian education in 1948 was the concession by the Director of Education and Government to the request for periodic visits by an Indian-Inspector of Schools from East Africa arranged by Government.⁹⁶ The issue of grants for the increase of teachers and pupils remained in abeyance in the absence of supporting figures but Government demonstrated willingness, as in the case of Muslim education, to allow and encourage outside opinion on the Asian educational system.

Towards the end of the 1940's the Asian community gradually adopted a vocal approach close to confrontation in their affairs. The Indian Chamber of Commerce found it opportune to remind Government of the Asians' financial role.

Contribution by members of the Indian Community to the revenues of the country in the form of payments for taxes such as income tax, poll tax, trade licensing fees, customs duties and various other taxes, is of very substantial amounts every year.⁹⁷

In line with this feeling Asians saw no reason for barring their children from entering European Schools like St Andrews and the Catholic Convent in Limbe. The Asians attempted unsuccessfully to emphasize their economic status rapidly sliding into a consciousness of racism. An interesting example came up at the all-European Convent School where an Asian child was to be admitted in 1948, with the prospect of more Asian and Anglo-Indian applicants in the pipeline. The threatening reaction of a white parent, A.L. Allpress, who was also the Chairman of the Parents Association at the Convent was unequivocal in its racial tone.⁹⁸ Such objections came from various other European personalities including lawyers like B.E. Lilley, as expressed in his letter to the Director of Education.⁹⁹

The racial situation in education was assuming explosive proportions and challenged Government for a workable policy. For one thing the boy who triggered off the furore was Goanese, a son of Dr Antao, a Catholic, who not only appealed to the Mother Superior of the Convent on religious grounds but whose father treated European patients. But despite all other positive considerations, the Asian remained, in European eyes, a person deficient of well-organised and decent hygienic life.

The Asian schools offered little of praise and this situation

was confirmed by the visiting Indian Inspector of Schools. M.O.S. Desai, Indian Inspector of Schools of the Kenya Education Department visited the country 17 September to 20 October 1948, inspected all Indian schools and produced what was called a "trenchant" report on each (school) and a valuable general report.¹⁰⁰ The Report revealed the chief requirements which included "a thorough-going restaffing of the schools with qualified teachers, followed by extensive rebuilding and, in some cases, resiting of existing institutions".¹⁰¹ Another suggestion focussed on the establishment of a Government School for eventual development into an Indian Secondary School. These recommendations led to an official provision in the second Five Year Educational Plan (1950-1954) for introducing in Asian schools, a grant system similar to that envisaged for African schools. But opinion was divided on the suggestion of engagement by Government of a full time Indian School Inspector for only 500 children in all and a Government Indian High School, both of which Government rejected.¹⁰²

The Resurfacing of the Union of Convenience Policy .

Late 1948 Government, convinced of the economic and administrative benefits to accrue from joint Asian-Coloured education, approached the Southern Rhodesian Department of Education about the way it conducted this type of education. Even in Southern Rhodesia where a fairly successful attempt had been made, running joint Coloured and Asian education was considered extremely complicated.¹⁰³ In Southern Rhodesia some all-Asian schools operated but Government policy favoured joint Asian and Coloured education to reduce various problems including staffing as each racial community normally favoured teachers of its own kind, in the homogeneous institutions, which often led to problems recruiting suitable teachers. This Government control of such joint education would ensure some improvement in the staff recruitment.

In Malawi even after the opening of the Eur-African school exclusively for Eur-African children, the only mixed school remained Mrs Dalvi's Mudi Cottage School in Limbe which closed in 1950. Government concern from 1949 centred on increasing efforts to get Asians and Coloureds, in the case of the latter, Eur-Africans and Indo-Africans, to accept the principle of working together in one school. This interesting exercise in the promotion of

racial harmony among non-white non-Africans took on a forceful character by 1949 as the Director of Education intimated to the Asian Education Advisory Committee.¹⁰⁴ Opposition to any such integration plans for Malawi was only to be expected from the Asian community who still saw it as an attempt to reduce its prestigious status to that of a community of "illegitimate" children. While Dayaram and his colleagues favoured any provision for joint Indo-African and Eur-African education any plan for pure Indians participating in this approach was flatly rejected as an undesirable threat to their national culture and language.¹⁰⁵ Government found itself in a tight corner for, while accusing the Asians of a narrow-minded and racialist approach to education, despite the Government guarantees of good financial support, it could not explain the existence of all-European schools at St Andrews in Blantyre and the Lasagesse Convent in Limbe. Government made no secret^{of} the impossibility of establishing a Government Indian High School, a project numerically unjustifiable unless mixed. Asians on their part could not visualise attending the proposed Coloured Secondary School in Salisbury.¹⁰⁶ In conclusion Government threatened with its inability to support any Indian secondary school project. But the issue of Indian education remained still open even in 1950.

Meanwhile Eur-African education policy formulation proved no easier task. The debate and opposition to the policy of joint Asian-Coloured education has been noted from the Asian point of view which in fact would have rather preferred education alongside Africans than Eur-Africans, if the worst came to the worst. As Buchanan pointed out, the unfortunate fact was that all communities found it more difficult to sink their differences with the Eur-African community than with any other.¹⁰⁷

The Government suggestion to open the Chichiri Eur-African School to Indo-Africans and Asians was greeted with cautious agreement by the Eur-Africans who insisted on the need for fullest cooperation with Asians but on terms of equality. If Asians joined Chichiri, and not only the worst class of Asians, Eur-Africans too would seek admission to Asian schools so long as English was the language of instruction though Gujarati might be taught as a classroom subject.¹⁰⁸ Eur-Africans adopted a

conciliatory stance for fear of losing out in their bargain for Government expansion of their Chichiri School, particularly at this time of renewed official emphasis on a policy of joint education. That Chichiri was officially chosen for the joint school now pleased the Eur-Africans. The Director of Education, selling the idea, stressed the advantages of the scheme to both communities which would now have "at least one very good joint school" and it would have the added advantage of educating Eur-Africans and Indians under conditions similar to those they would find at the proposed Coloured Secondary School in Southern Rhodesia which, it was hoped, would accept candidates from Nyasaland"¹⁰⁹ All aided Eur-African and Indian schools exercising discrimination would forfeit all claim to a Government subsidy.

But problems still remained in the way of such a proposal. Firstly the status of the Indo-African still called for resolution. Secondly the Indian objections had still to be sorted out. For a long time, until 1950, while favouring any accommodation of joint Coloured-Asian education, Eur-Africans vehemently rejected any suggestion of incorporating Indo-Africans into this union. The problem arose from Government miscalculation in creating in 1945 a "Eur-African", rather than "Coloured", Education Committee which would cater for Indo-Africans as well. Realising its error Government had to use threats to bring Indo-Africans into Chichiri Eur-African school. "In future Indo-Africans be admitted to the Eur-African Government School, in the hope that a larger enrolment would lead to improvements in the School and, if necessary, an increase of staff".¹¹⁰ Eur-Africans now with no real choice aspired for an institution comparable to the Moffat School in Salisbury which drew pupils from Eur-African, Indo-African and Asian communities, and some Indians preferred it to 'inferior' all-Indian Schools.¹¹¹ Government favour of this move was partly prompted by the rising Indo-African demand for their own educational facilities, and the amalgamation would provide the solution.

However, if Coloureds agreed with the scheme eventually to lead to secondary education, Asian consent could not be taken for granted. Their claim was for equal opportunity with Europeans, with Government assuming direct responsibility in establishing a sound Indian primary and post-primary education since the Indian

performance needed assistance. Government (Director of Education) refused to assume full responsibility for Asian education "until I am convinced that nothing can be done to improve the existing (school) Committees".¹¹² What worried the Director was the motive of jealousy underlying Asian dealings with their school staff and the Young Muslim Brotherhood was a case in point, and doubt existed as to whether its attitude would improve towards Government-controlled staff. The Director favoured offering guidance to Indian education through a permanent Indian Inspector appointed to the Department as a more economical move than official assumption of full responsibility. Concerning secondary education, although Asians favoured, as an ultimate alternative, attending the African Secondary School at Dedza government school, Government could not accept this because Asians would expect much more elaborate accommodation and Indian pupils, after attending that School would "expect the same employment openings for themselves as it (Government) hoped to provide for the African products of the school".¹¹³ Government operated an ambiguous racial policy condemned by the Asians who could not gain access to European schools while professing as "the policy of the British Government that there should be no racial discrimination in schools".¹¹⁴

Meanwhile the major stride concerning Coloured education was perhaps the admission for the first time to the Eur-African school of Indo-Africans in 1950 when, of necessity, the name of the school changed to Chichiri Government School with the prospects of developing into a secondary school. At long last Government victory seemed in sight in bringing the two Coloured communities together. But the Asian element remained adamantly aloof in its struggle for identity in its education. Asian teachers, however, never objected to work in Coloured schools, something to their psychological satisfaction, and it thus disturbed Government authorities when the same teacher could not teach a mixed class of Indians and Coloureds. The Coloured community's initial objection to an Indian head teacher, Mrs Roopsingh, at the Eur-African School (Chichiri from 1950) cooled down only gradually. Eur-Africans had always been against Indians and Indo-Africans but for white people, the superior race which set the standard for their lifestyle. When the Anglo-African Association wrote the Chief Secretary in Zomba discussing Mrs Roopsingh's

appointment the point stressed was the desire by Eur-Africans to be educated to the love and patriotism of the British nation, but their school had been staffed with "persons whose ideals are to break away from this Empire..."¹¹⁵

However, while Asians still showed reluctance to join with Coloureds, the Indo-Africans who soon formed approximately¹¹⁶ half of Chichiri School could only be accommodated at Mrs Dalvi's place and, later, at Haji Osman Hostel in Limbe until its closure in 1952. Yet only one Indo-African boarder lived at Chichiri and the Eur-African-Indo-African division did not seem to get close to complete solution even under one school roof. When Asian and Coloured education came under the Federal Government from 1953, problems for the attention of the new Federal administration in the educational policy of these communities presented a difficult task.

The Federal Interlude and Asian-Coloured Education

The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland with its lifespan of a decade has constituted the most lively topic as an experiment in British colonial policy with a disastrous profile. When the scheme was launched in 1953 the division of labour between it and the Territorial Government designated primary and secondary education for non-African and higher education for students of all races as a Federal responsibility. Given the complex problems confronting non-African education, the territorial Government, especially in Malawi, was only too happy to relinquish responsibility for it. The main consideration for this division was the fact that the Federal Government stood in better financial stead to deal with non-African educational demands.

The Federal Director of Education, operating under the Federal Minister of Health and Education, managed an unenviable task which included policy development, control of administration and inspectorate, supervision of accounting and management of public examinations.

However, despite the gusto with which Federal officials worked, no new proposals for reorganization of the non-African school system came from the Federal Ministry of Health and Education until December 1955; and public pressure led to changes which were taken through the Federal Parliament in summer 1956 to lead to the Federal Education Act of 1956. Prior to this Act the

Federal educational authorities simply handled pertinent business by dint of common sense and largely guided by the territorial policies which at this juncture seemed dominated by uncertainty and chaos.

In Malawi the old major problems in Coloured and Asian education greeted the Federal Ministry of Health and Education. Perhaps the most significant development of the time concerning the Coloured community was the formation of the Nyasaland Coloured Community Welfare Association, operational by 1954, to bring together the Eur-African and Indo-African sectors¹¹⁷ and provide a platform for coordinated Coloured educational demands. It was clear to the Coloured community that with their previous divisions no real gain could be realised in the enlarged Federal state catering for three territories. The voice of reason now denounced any sectionalism as detrimental to the cause of mutual confidence with other communities.¹¹⁸ However, the influence of the Anglo-African Association still had to be eradicated. For example when the Federal Secretary-Designate for Education visited Blantyre the Anglo-African Association and not the "Coloured Association" sent a deputation to see him.¹¹⁹ Events of the time showed clearly the Indo-Africans as the major patrons of the new Coloured Association. The encouraging reply from the Minister of Education to the Coloured Welfare Association inquiry expressed the hope that in due course Government schools would be established in all centres with appreciable numbers of non-European children.¹²⁰ But although such schools would be mixed to cater for all Coloured and Asian children, he made a distinction between "Coloured" and "Eur-African" children¹²¹ and therefore failed to bridge the real gulf between the Coloured sectors. It is, however, significant that an interest was indicated to provide, eventually, mixed non-African non-European schools within the Federal budgetary limitations,¹²² but no timetable was given. In Federal Government schools no tuition fees would be paid. But even as late as 1955 the Federal Ministry of Education still talked in terms of a "Coloured School"¹²³ rather than a joint Asian and Coloured School.

Coloured education still constituted a problem area. Firstly contrary to the popular view, many Coloured children, particularly those closely affiliated with traditional African life poured

contempt on any school exclusively for Coloured and Asian people. Such children felt more secure and at home in an African school than in the Coloured School despite its free tuition. Secondly, as the Lilongwe example showed Asians, still nursing anti-Coloured sentiments, could not accept Coloured children; and the prospects of Asians joining any prospective Coloured School in Lilongwe registered dim.¹²⁴ A Coloured section of the Catholic School in Lilongwe run by the White Sisters faced problems of recognition by Asians and the ultimate demand centred around a fair-sized Coloured rather than joint School.¹²⁵ Paradoxically the Asian School in Lilongwe had a Coloured teacher, Mrs Hassan who, however, could not admit Coloured children to the school. Although Federal Ministry funding was designated only for those schools to be open to Asian and Coloured children equally¹²⁶ Asians were sticking to what they considered an important practice of separate Asian education for identity.

Asians could not wholly ^{be} blamed for this arrogant attitude in the matter; Government had a share. For example, embarking on policy-streamlining in the early 1950s both the pre-Federal and Federal Directors of Education allowed Limbe and Blantyre Asian Schools to maintain their status quo of excluding Coloured children. In fact the Federal Ministry view in 1954 favoured employing Asian teachers in Asian schools,¹²⁷ and engagement of European and Coloured teachers for such schools would only be a measure of expediency dictated by teacher shortages. It is clear that the major problem faced by the Federal education authorities was ambiguity of their policy. This encouraged the Asian tendency of comparing themselves to Europeans only, and the Asian Memorandum of 7 August 1954¹²⁸ by a joint meeting of various Asian School Committees, chaired by the Indian lawyer, A.S. Sacranie, should be appraised in this light. Asians strongly argued against an allocated sum of £20,000 for Asian primary education in contrast with £150,000 for that of Europeans¹²⁹ at a time of announced policy of equal opportunity, in the first instance restricted to non-Africans.

The first major step towards the so-called multi-racial education was the creation in 1955 of a territorial non-African Advisory Committee on Education¹³⁰ to replace the three territorial committees, European, Asian and Eur-African. The proposed composition

of the new Committee was supposed to be racially representative although 'Eur-African' was used instead of 'Coloured',¹³¹ the latter probably denoting Indo-African in Federal records.¹³² The step was followed the next year by the passing and publication of the Federal Education Act of 1956 alluded to earlier.

However the Act was not an expression of an intention, as yet, to come up with a new policy; so that according to J.M. Greenfield, Federal Minister of Education, the idea was "simply to invest the Government with adequate powers to fulfil its responsibilities under the Federal constitution".¹³³ Among the arrangements in the Act, which followed closely the practice in the Rhodesias, Federal Government schools were to provide free education to Federal residents while parents contributed by compulsion to a General Purposes Fund for extra-mural activities. The prescribed medium of instruction, English, in Federal Schools raised some complication especially where English did not constitute the home or first language of a particular group.

One major feature of the 1956 Act was the absence of any real striking clause to promote a policy of racial integration, as traditionally divisive educational arrangements along racial lines were enshrined in it. Greenfield could only talk of special permits to depart from this order. In Malawi as elsewhere in the region the secondary level succeeded in racial cooperation between Asians and Coloureds but not with Europeans who retained St Andrews High School exclusively for whites, as a subsequent discussion has demonstrated.

The Last Four Years 1958-61

In the effervescent political activity of the late 1950's the Coloured featured as the unfortunate victim of the crossfire between nationalists and the Federal system, subjecting him to the heights of ignominy. While Asians faced their own plight the Coloured, however, elicited some sympathy, educationally and otherwise, in his ambivalent state. Some high ranking officers even stood out to speak for him as was the case of the Mayor of Blantyre who memorialized the new Governor, Robert Armitage, in January 1958 to protest against the prevailing racism in the country especially against Coloureds as a deprived group.¹³⁴ So that the term of Ifan C.H. Freeman, as Director of Education in Malawi, tackled the onus of assisting in formulating favourable

educational policies especially for Coloureds. The matter revolved around jobs which were in short supply in the private sector as well as public. It seemed an unwritten policy for Coloured people to be excluded from the civil service jobs some of which, though in white hands, required only a minimum of education of Junior Certificate. The civil service jobs had to be securely under white control until such time, especially in Malawi, that Africans were able to take over. Educating a Coloured, therefore, only entailed a job embarrassment. As the Mayor of Blantyre-Limbe, who was also Chairman of Chichiri School Council, put it in January 1958, "Government, by far the largest employer in the whole territory, up to date has not made one post available to a member of the so-called 'Coloured' community".¹³⁵ The Coloured community's notoriety in poor social discipline was partly explicable in terms of frustration caused by rejection and the lack of opportunity.

A new workable educational policy became necessary in the late 1950's when the rising political temperatures, especially in Malawi rocked the props of the impotent Federal structure. Malawi was clearly on the road to political change, and reorganising the system to tone down the racist approach. The territorial Government in Malawi in this matter, became critical of the Federal approach and fought to guide the system although under the general Federal authorities. For example a clear and realistic policy which eliminated internal discrimination among the Coloureds was necessary to extend the educational benefit at Chichiri School to the whole Coloured community.¹³⁶ According to Freeman the Federal pronouncement of partnership had failed to get to the pith of development and only created the existing embarrassment. When the Chichiri Secondary School opened in 1960/61 it was to cater for Coloured and Asian students in a bid to reduce Government scholarships and bursaries to secondary institutions like St John's in Southern Rhodesia and, indeed, to a small degree, in South Africa. And yet in 1959 the European Secondary School at St Andrews was operating the third Form exclusively for Europeans. If the Federation was to survive, the Federal constitutional review of 1960 needed rigorous re-examination of the educational arrangements as well.

The failure in Malawi of the Federal Government was clear

in its unfulfilled pledge to "provide the same range of facilities for kindergarten, primary and secondary education as is available as in other parts of the Federation."¹³⁷ Uniformity in the three territories proved impossible as a result of variations of each country's economic and social standing which seemed a significant determinant of the extent of a country's benefit from Federal facilities. The Jack Report of 1958/59 talked of commendable strides in non-African education in Malawi since Federation, as demonstrated by the fact that while European children attending Government primary schools had risen from 283 in 1953 to 817 in 1958, enrolments at Government Asian and Coloured institutions increased from 124 to 2,294 for the same period.¹³⁸ But not indicated to substantiate this claim of growth were figures of the latter category which still lacked educational opportunity of Government standard. Besides many of the latter groups still attended either private or African schools particularly in the case of Coloured children.

Conclusion

The story of the education for the Asian and Coloured communities was complicated by the absence of any clear racial policy both before and during the Federal interlude. The situation was made worse by the racism ingrained in the Federal policy of partnership. It was clear that a policy based on racism had to move cautiously to ensure the desired disparities for which education was the chief agent. The new political developments at the beginning of the 1960's demonstrated the dawn of a new era of development. The Malawi Congress Party won the August, 1961 general election on a non-racist platform and the ensuing African Government, for the first time in Malawi's history, gave the Coloured community an identity. While Europeans and Asians formed alien racial categories but welcome in the new state of Malawi, Coloureds were integrated into the African community, and I.K. Surtree, an Indo-African leader, stood on an M.C.P. ticket and won a seat in the 1961 general election. Dr Banda argued that Coloureds, with their African blood, formed part of the African community, not Asian or European, by African definition. What was required in the new state was not European, Asian or Coloured education but non-racial integrated schools with admission for all. As the Federal system formally marched off the stage in 1963, Freeman's

suggested approach to education on non-racial lines took effect. In retrospect the Federal Government's concern over non-African education focussed more on European needs than on those of Asians and Coloureds. Asian and Coloured education posed as the complicated imperative which could only be handled very carefully to avoid racial imbalance likely to distort the sacred racial pyramid which designated Europeans as the master race deserving all the best.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER VII

EDUCATION FOR THE ASIAN AND COLOURED COMMUNITIES

1. Sacranie to Chief Secretary 8/8/1932. File S1/573/29 (MNA, Zomba).
2. Indian Chamber of Commerce to Chief Secretary, April 1948, File AS 616 Box 10343 (MNA, Zomba).
3. Although earlier correspondence and documents often used the term 'Indian' to include Indians proper and Pakistanis etc. "Asian" is in fact the appropriate term.
4. Johnston, B.C.A., Passim
Oliver, Johnston, Chs 6-7
C.A. Baker, Johnston's Administration 1891-97 (Government Press, Zomba 1970) Chs 3-4. Hereinafter Baker, Johnston.
5. See I.C. Lamba, "British Commerce as an Anti-Slavery Device in Malawi in the 1870's and 1880's: A Study in Miscalculated Strategy", Rhodesian History (1978) IX pp 13-21.
6. A.J. Hanna, Beginnings p.227
7. Johnston, B.C.A., pl83
8. Johnston in a private letter to India. F.O. Item 6337 No 145 Inclosure 5. Cited in Floyd Dotson and Lillian O. Dotson, The Indian Minority of Zamia, Rhodesia and Malawi (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1968). p.43 Hereinafter Dotson, Indian Minority.
9. For the Asian's economic role see Dotson, Indian Minority ch.3.
10. See Dotson, Ibid, esp. ch.3, cited in Lamba, "Non-African Education" in J.S.A.H.S. Vol III/IV/V-1981 p.8
11. In 1925 two private European Schools, The Limbe Convent run by Montfort Marist Fathers, and the Anglican Rev. Wratten's School in Sunnyside, opened in Blantyre followed in 1927 by another one at Nkhoma D.R.C. Mission and Mrs M.W. Dally's in Zomba, making a total of four schools. Government grant-in-aid amounting to £700 (K1,400) was first paid in 1928. See Pachai, Malawi. The History of the Nation pp 176-177. Also Lamba, "Non-African Education.." pp3-7.
12. Ed Dep Rep 1935 p.15.
13. "Address of His Excellency the Governor at the Sixth Session of the Advisory Committee on Education in the Protectorate", Appendix III Ed Dep Rep 1935.
14. See Atkins, Teaching Rhodesians.. Ch. 3.

15. See Dotson, Indian Minority p.223.
16. See Dotson, Indian Minority Ch. 7
17. Ibid p.189
18. Director of Education to Chief Secretary Min. 33 of 15/4/1932 File Sl/573/29 (MNA, Zomba).
19. See Colonial Office: Bell Report
20. Minute by J.C.A. to Chief Secretary, 2/9/1938. File Sl/195/38 (MNA, Zomba).
21. Ibid
22. See details of Indian and European relations in Dotson, Indian Minority, Ch. 8.
23. The other terms referring to the same community include "half-caste", "Eur-African", "Indo-African", "Afro-Asian", "Mulatto". Some of these terms meant very little and were confusing depending on situations.
24. For an analysis of the Portuguese assimilation and miscegenation see Eduardo Mondlane, The Struggle for Mozambique (Penguin African Library, London, London 1970), Ch. 2 pp48-57. Hereinafter Mondlane, Mozambique
25. Ibid p.50
26. Dotson, Indian Minority, particularly section entitled "Sexual relationships" pp 280-284. Also Idem, in Race (Journal of the Institute of Race Relations, London) Vol 5 (July, 1963) pp61-75.
27. Dotson, Indian Minority p.281.
28. Lamba, "Non-African Education..." ppl-2.
29. During the post-colonial period especially since 1962 a number of Malawians have acquired white wives but invariably the mother's cultural heritage predominates the outlook of life among the Coloured offspring. Interestingly this marital reversal does not involve Asians whose women have either maintained a taboo against sexual unions with black people or failed to appeal to Malawians as satisfactory prospective wives.
30. Minute No. I by Secretary for Native Affairs to Attorney-General, 20/2/1931 File Sl/453/31 (MNA, Zomba).
31. Minute No. 2 Attorney General to Secretary of Native Affairs, 23/2/1931 File Sl/453/31 (MNA, Zomba).
32. Governor to Secretary for Native Affairs 3/3/1931. Minute No. 10 File Sl/453/31 (MNA, Zomba).

33. Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies to Secretary, Conference of East African Governors, 20/4/1931. File S1/705/II/30 "Definition of Halfcastes and General Matters Regarding their Status in Nyasaland".
34. See Secretary, Anglo-African Association to Chief Secretary, Zomba, 30/12/1933 File S1/1111/31 (MNA, Zomba).
35. Ibid
36. Attorney General to Chief Secretary, Zomba 1/8/1931 File S1/705 II/30 (MNA, Zomba).
37. Ibid, Interestingly enough some African mothers expected their Coloured children to marry other Coloureds or non-Africans. This process of alienation occasionally arose from the fact that the African mothers failed to handle their "alien" offspring.
38. Ibid
39. Ag Director of Education, E.D. Bowman, to Chief Secretary, Zomba, Sept, 1933. Minute 83 File S1 S1/705 II/30 (MNA, Zomba).
40. In fact reports from Native Authorities indicated that "approximately 66% of the halfcaste children of school age in this Protectorate are taking advantage of the educational facilities provided, and that the majority of those who do not do so are of Asiatic origin, whose fathers appear to be unwilling for them to attend village schools." Chief Secretary to Hon. Secretary, Nyasaland Council of Women, Zomba, 7/1/1935. File S1/705 II/30 (MNA, Zomba).
41. "Education for the Anglo-Africans: a Brief Outline on Education as a Result of a Meeting with His Excellency Sir Thomas in 1931 at Nyambadwe", File S1/705 II/30 (MNA, Zomba). p.1.
42. Ibid p.3.
43. Nyasaland Council of Women to Chief Secretary, Zomba, 19/6/1934. File S1/705 II/30. There were in 1934 857 Coloureds below marriageable age, 288 of them of European origin. The N.C.W. was concerned only with those of European origin. Ibid.
44. Minutes (undated) of the Anglo-African Association meeting (1934). File S1/705II/30. (MNA, Zomba).
45. Mumba's Memorandum: "The Education of the Halfcaste", Appendix II File S1/705II/30 (MNA, Zomba). The Memorandum was presented to the Advisory Committee on Education on 29 May 1934.
46. See "The Anglo-African Association: Criticisms to Mr L.Z. Mumba's Memorandum", Annex to Governor Harold Kittermaster to Colonial Secretary Phillip Cunliffe-Lister 10/10/1934. File S1/705II/30 (MNA, Zomba).

47. Ibid. p.1 The Memorandum described Mumba as "an odd person who has never used a hat or shoes, the signs of modern education and civilization.." Ibid.
48. Ibid p.2
49. Ibid p.3
50. See Colonial Secretary P. Cunliffe-Lister, to Governor Harold Kittermaster, 9/1/1935. File S1/705II/30 (MNA, Zomba).
51. Lamba, "Non-African Education..." p.10
52. The 1931 Census showed 1591 Asians in Nyasaland 1,400 of whom were British Indians born in India. About 100 were born in Malawi. 967 were Muslims and 489 Hindus, children aged 6-16 numbered 119. The Zomba and Limbe schools started with enrolments of 15 and 20 children.
Source: Ed Dep Rep 1936 p.9.
53. Ed Dep Rep 1936 p.9
54. Ibid p.9
55. Ibid p.10
56. Dotson, op cit p.285. Also see Atkinson, Teaching Rhodesians pp 62-64
57. Dotson, Ibid p.286
58. Ibid p.3.
59. Ed Dep Rep 1941 p13.
60. Ed Dep Rep 1944 p8.
61. Ed Dep Rep 1945 p.6
62. Oral testimony, J.B. Evans (an Anglo-African) 5 Feb 1973
63. Ibid
64. Ibid
65. Pachai, Malawi p.178
66. R.K. Tangri, "The rise of nationalism in Colonial Africa; The case of colonial Malawi", Pachai, Smith and Tangri, eds, Malawi Past and Present p.104
67. P. Dayaram to Ismail Mahomed (Indian father) 12/6/1945
File: "Asian Education-General: Prior to 1949" Box 10346 (MNA, Zomba).
68. Director of Education to B.E. Lilley, 10/12/1945. File: Asian Educ General Prior to 1949, Box 10346. (MNA, Zomba).

69. Governor E.C. Richards to Minister of External Affairs, Union of South Africa, 2/1/1945. MP157, "Anglo-African Association of Nyasaland", Box 312 (Zomba, Malawi).
70. P.W. Dev. Rep. p.51
71. Ibid p.51
72. Ibid p.51
73. The Education Ordinance 1945, Part IV "Asian Education", p.14.
74. Minute by J.B. Williams, Colonial Office, 30/11/45, CO525/194/44070/5 (P.R.O.)
75. Governor E.C. Richards to Oliver Stanley, Secretary of State, 26/7/1945 Dispatch No 72. CO 525/194/44070/5 (1945-6)(P.R.O.).
76. Minute by C.W.M. Cox, Colonial Office 31/12/45 CO525/194/44070/5 (P.R.O.). Also Colonial Secretary to Governor E.C. Richards, 5/12/1945; Telegram No.415 Confidential; CO525/194/44070/5 (P.R.O.).
77. Governor Richards to Secretary of State 23/12/1945 Telegram No. 584 Confidential: CO525/194/44070/5 (P.R.O.).
78. "Minutes of the First Meeting of the Advisory Committee on Eur-African Education, 11/3/1946. File 195/46 Box 313 (MNA, Zomba).
79. Governor E.C. Richards to Colonial Secretary of State, 25/5/1946 Telegram No. 286 Confidential; CO525/194/44070/5 (P.R.O.)
80. Ed Dep Rep 1946, p.11
81. Minutes of the First Meeting of the Advisory Committee on Eur-African Education, 11/3/1946.
82. Director of Education, Zomba, to Chief Secretary, 18/2/1944 File MP157 "Anglo-African Association of Nyasaland", Box 312 (MNA, Zomba).
83. Director of Education to H. Ascroft 9/4/1946 File MP295/46 "Advisory Committee on Eur-African Education", Box 313 (MNA, Zomba).
84. Ed Dep Rep 1947, p.18
85. Ed Dep Rep 1947 p.18 "In addition 45 bursary holders are having all or part of their school fees paid at Mrs Dalvi's school, 36 at St John's School, Salisbury, and 6 in South Africa, at a cost amounting £966". Ibid
86. Director of Education, Zomba to Chief Secretary, Zomba 1/4/1946, "Bursaries and Scholarships for Eur-Africans", File MP295 Box 313, (MNA, Zomba).

87. Minutes of the Second Meeting of the Advisory Committee on Eur-African Education, 4/3/1947. CO525/202/44070/6 (1946/47). (PRO).
88. Mins of the 3rd Annual Meeting of the Advisory Committee on Eur-African Education, 27/1/1948. CO525/202/44070/6 (1948). (P.R.O.).
89. Dalvi's Mudi Cottage School which received government grants-in-aid since 1936 had in 1938 an average enrolment of 25, average attendance of 21 and 8 boarders, the majority of the children being British Indians; there were also two Goans and 8 halfcaste children on the roll.
Source: Ed Dep Rep 1938 pp32-33
90. Ed Dep Rep 1943 p.16
91. P.W.Dev.Rep. p.51
92. "Revised Report of the Post-War Development Committee 1947", CO626/26 (PRO).
93. Mins of the Second Meeting of the Advisory Committee on Asian Education, 4/3/1947, CO525/202/44070/6 (1947). The Asians were castigated by the Chairman (Director of Education) for their general malaise evidenced in poor attendance at the meeting without any apologies.
94. Mins. Ibid.
95. See Minute 33 by Director of Education, File S1/573/29 (MNA, Zomba) cited in Lamba, "Non-African Education..." p.8.
96. Mins of the Third Meeting of the Advisory Committee on Asian Education, 6/2/1948. CO525/20270/6.
97. "Indian Chamber of Commerce, Nyasaland to Government", 1948 AS616 Box 10343 (MNA, Zomba).
98. A.L. Allpress to Director of Education, 21/5/1948. File EUR 104 "Convent de la Sagesse", Box 311 (MNA, Zomba).
99. B.E. Lilley to Director of Education, 28/6/1948 EUR 104 Box 311 (MNA, Zomba).
100. Ed Dep Rep 1948 p.4.
101. Ed Dep Rep 1948 p.4
102. See Mins of the Fourth meeting of the Advisory Committee on Asian Education, 12/1/1949. CO525/202/44070/6. Also Director of Education, Zomba to Mrs Alcock, 25/1/1949 File: "Asian Education Prior to 1949", Box 10346 (MNA, Zomba). Also Mrs Alcock to Mr Miller (Director of Education), 20/1/1949 Box 10346 (MNA, Zomba).
103. Chief Education Officer, S. Rhodesia, to Director of Education, Zomba, 30/10/1948. File "Asian Education-General: Prior to 1949", Box 10346 (MNA, Zomba).

104. Mins of the 4th Meeting of the Advisory Committee on Asian Education, 12/1/1949. CO525/202/44070/6 (PRO).
105. Ibid
106. Ibid.
107. Southern Provincial Education Officer (L.A.C. Buchanan) to Director of Education (D.S. Miller) 17/1/1950. "Development Plan for Asian Education" p.2. File No. 4/50 'Asian Education', Box 3533 (MNA, Zomba).
108. Mins of the 4th Annual Meeting of the Advisory Committee on Eur-African Education, 7/1/1949. CO525/202/44070/6 (PRO).
109. Ibid
110. Mins of the 5th Annual Meeting Advisory Committee on Eur-African Education 17/3/1950 CO525/217/44070/6/50 (PRO). Also interview J.B. Evans, 5/2/1973. In 1950 there were only the Indian Headmistress and a Eur-African Assistant Mistress to handle 90 children at Chichiri, ranging from Sub-Standard A to Standard IV. N.A.C.R. 1950 p.51
111. L.A.C. Buchanan, Southern Senior Education Officer to Director of Education, 17/1/1950 File 4/50 "Asian Education" Box 3533 (MNA, Zomba).
112. Director of Education, Zomba, to Southern Senior Education Officer, Blantyre, 25/1/1950. File 4/50 Box 3533 (MNA, Zomba).
113. Ibid.
114. Ibid.
115. Letter from Anglo-African Association to Chief Secretary, 2/11/1951. Cited in Evans, "...Chichiri Government School", p.5.
116. A summary dated 4/6/1954, EA 706 "EurAfrican Education" Box 10343 (MNA, Zomba).
117. Nyasaland Coloured Community Welfare Association to Federal Minister of Education, Salisbury, 31/5/1954. File EA706 "Eur-African Education-General", Box 10343 (MNA, Zomba).
The Principal Object of the Association was

"to bring together all sections of the Coloured Community so as to enable the whole community to play a positive and constructive part in full cooperation with the other communities within the British Commonwealth in the building of a strong multiracial state for the benefits of all its inhabitants without any distinction as to the race, colour and creed." Ibid. "Inhabitants" of-course generally excluded Africans.

118. Ibid.
119. Ibid. In all there were about 1,500 school age Coloured children in Malawi.
120. Federal Secretary for Education to Nyasaland Coloured Community Association, 19/7/1954. File EA706 Box 10343 (MNA, Zomba).
121. Ibid.
122. Ibid.
123. Federal Administrative and Inspectoral Officer, Blantyre, to District Commissioner, Lilongwe, 26/2/1955. EA 706, Box 10343 (MNA, Zomba).
124. District Commissioner, Lilongwe, to Administrative and Inspectoral Officer, Blantyre, 8/3/1955. File EA 706, Box 10343 (MNA, Zomba).
125. Mrs Gwen Wallace to Pye, 11/3/1955. File EA 706 Box 10343. (MNA, Zomba).
126. Federal Secretary for Education to Federal Director of Education, Blantyre, 14/3/1955. File EA 706 Box 10343 (MNA, Zomba).
127. L.R. Morgan, Secretary for Education, "Statement Concerning Asian Education in Nyasaland". 14/7/1954. File AS610 "Asian Education-General", Box 10343 (MNA, Zomba).
128. "A Memorandum...." in reply to the Statement of 14 July, 1954 from the Ministry of Education, Federal Government". A.S.610 Box 10343, (MNA, Zomba).
129. Ibid. p.1
130. Regional Director of Education, Blantyre, to Secretary for Education, Salisbury, 28/6/1955. EA706, Box 10343, (MNA, Zomba).
131. The suggested composition was as follows:
- | | |
|---------------------------------------|----------|
| Director of Federal Education | Chairman |
| Europeans (unofficial) | 3 |
| Asians (unofficial) | 2 |
| Eur-Africans (unofficial) | 1 |
| Teachers representative
(any race) | 1 |
| Secretary | |
- Ibid
132. In fact even as late as 1959 the two groups of Coloureds continued to be distinctly separated although "Indo-African" was modified to "Afro-Asian", terminology which proved more offensive and alienating both to the owners and the African community.

133. Atkinson, Teaching Rhodesians p.129.
134. Mayor of Blantyre-Limbe to Governor, 7/1/1958. EA706 Box 10343 (MNA, Zomba).
135. Ibid
136. Interestingly enough a prominent member of the Coloured community, A.V. Bapu (Indo-African) opposed the indiscriminate approach, instead holding the opinion that:
- "In future no Coloured child who lives after the manner of an African should be admitted to a Federal Government School."
137. Jack Report p.184. This report represented a fairly exhaustive pro-Federal Government propaganda exercise.
138. Ibid. Also see Appendix IX.

CHAPTER VIII
EDUCATION FOR EUROPEANS

This matter of European education in Nyasland has dragged out overlong now. We find on referring to our files that from December 28, 1927, when His Excellency in Executive Council agreed 'that the time had come for a Government European School' and that 'the existing conditions needed immediate attention', there have followed five years of scandalous delay.¹

The statement above by the European Chamber of Commerce in Malawi represents an incisive summary of the pre-war position of the territorial Government and the Colonial Office. The Government, initially not too anxious to develop European education, using the pre-war economic situation as the explanation, found itself in a difficult situation of divided loyalty to the needs of a minority, important and crucial in its own way, and the African majority and other communities. This chapter seeks to examine the determining forces in official policy-formulation for European education, noting the evolutionary changes in response to new factors and pressures which led to Government recognition of this type of education as its responsibility rather than a private individual's enterprise. The discussion will demonstrate the change of official attitude particularly from the Second World War when loyal Europeans in the colonies deserved some rewards in various forms, including education.

Background

European education in Malawi started under difficult and precarious circumstances, initially as a domestic concern run on family lines, and eventually as a private entrepreneurial undertaking before finally becoming a Government enterprise. Organised European school education began only in 1921 when the Montfort Marist Mission founded the co-ed Limbe Convent School followed in 1925 by the Rev. W.W. Wratten's school at Sunnyside in Blantyre. By 1927 two additional schools included Mrs Marjorie Dally's in Zomba and a small one belonging to the Dutch Reformed Church Mission at Nkhoma in Lilongwe. Government recognised these schools which, except for the Convent, operated as institutions based on private initiatives.

The situation for European education was far from satisfactory and pressure for Government involvement came from organised groups such as the Nyasaland Planters Association formed in 1925 and superseded in 1927 by the Convention of Associations, and also the Chamber of Commerce. In general, Government demonstrated no real enthusiasm to run European education during the inter-war years but the pressure for Government assistance mounted. In fact the demand for a Government European Central School typified the prevailing sentiment of parents against the reliance on Mission institutions such as the Convent, mainly on religious grounds. In the absence of such a Central School, parents' bias went to Wratten's School on whose behalf the demand for an increase of the grant-in-aid to £800 per annum was rewarded on 1 September 1929. However, a more viable educational system was still called for; a good local school was the only answer to avoid sending small children to schools outside the country. Given a choice, Government considered and financially supported the practice of extra-territorial schooling as more economical than running a Government Central School, although the point for public emphasis was social ratherⁿ an economic.² Government preferred paying grants for tuition and transit expenses for children of needy parents to send these to Southern Rhodesia, South Africa and even East Africa. With this facility available, Government considered available European educational opportunity as adequate. By 1931 some Europeans, still dissatisfied with Government assistance, bitterly accused Government of demonstrated preference for African education:³ in a way, correctly. African contribution to taxation at 68.2% exceeded that of Europeans at 28.7%, the rest being borne by Asiatics. The position in the 1930's was bedevilled not only by parallel educational demands for Asian and Coloured education but also by the whole colonial policy.

As the Hilton-Young Commission in the early 1930's ruled in favour of paramountcy of African political interests in Central Africa, Europeans construed the development as a measure against them notwithstanding their claimed enormous tax contribution. But the Europeans' complaint was not wholly unreal. Their local education in private hands, with no guaranteed continuity,⁴ particularly in the absence of real missionary interest, was a legitimate

source of concern. The Europeans' continued clamour was not necessarily for free education but for Government schools charging reasonable fees supplemented by capitation grants. But even as late as 1931 the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Education would only recommend continuation of Government subsidies to existing European schools in the country.⁵ This milieu attracted the Blantyre Mission's attention with the suggestion to run a European boarding school at low cost so long as Government contribution was forthcoming, although the now extremely vociferous Nyasaland Chamber of Commerce still preferred a Government institution.

The situation seemed confused both in the Colonial Office and on the spot in Malawi. By 1933 the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Education was subordinating the bursary scheme to the question of establishing one school without any clear guidelines. This vagueness was interpreted by Europeans as official unwillingness to educate their children on modern lines,⁶ especially as the Government in Malawi seemed resolutely unable to build a European school in spite of the surplus balance of revenue over expenditure of £14,885 in 1932.⁷ On the Government side, however, the position was compounded by the increasing Asian and Coloured educational demands which made Government support for European education a tricky matter with potentially explosive consequences. But although the 1931 Passfield Declaration rendered European interests secondary to those of Africans, European settlers continued to argue for the fullest scrutiny of their demands. The settler population was on the increase as whole families were beginning to live in the country.

However, in fairness to the Government, substantial improvements took effect during the inter-war years. It is important to note that despite financial and other considerations such as numbers, the colonial Government could not totally neglect the education of a community destined as a dominant class. Several concessions were made to settlers which were often envied by the other communities. For example although the block-grant system to the four European schools gave way in 1932 to a guaranteed minimum grant, the bulk paid on percaput attendance basis, the grant increased when fees could not be paid to meet a shortfall. Besides, Government decision in 1932 to discourage parents from

keeping in the country children over 10 years of age on "grounds of health" led to a liberal bursary system for European children. This was more so with secondary education, especially in Southern Rhodesia. In addition, bursaries to Rhodesian schools increased from £600 to £800. The abolition of tuition fees by the Southern Rhodesian Government in 1935 and the granting to Nyasaland children of permission to attend Rhodesian schools on the same terms as Rhodesian pupils was an obvious victory for Nyasaland Europeans. Government grants enabled parents to pay all or part of the boarding fees, while railway rates for them were reduced and Government paid expenses of a lady escort on the school trains from Blantyre to Salisbury. On their part, Nyasaland schools ensured adequate preparation for admission to other Southern African schools, using in this, as far as possible, a common elementary school syllabus. Besides, although an approved Government Primary School in Blantyre failed on account of the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund Committee's refusal to grant the requisite finance,⁸ the establishment in 1938 of the St. Andrews Primary School by the Blantyre Mission, with heavy Government subsidy to replace Wratten's school in that year, represented a milestone in European education. This school was eventually handed over to Government.

In sum, Government policy towards the close of the inter-war years seemed to follow gradually a trend of appeasement as evinced in European education, envied by Asians and Coloureds, which a Government enquiry in 1939 described as "entirely satisfactory"⁹ under the operational policy of internal grants-in-aid, bursaries for primary education and external bursaries for secondary levels.

The War and Post-War Period

The most spectacular event at the end of the War in 1945 remains the launching of the Post-war Development Programme Report, with European education forming an important section. This was important at this time as many European war veterans and families came or returned to Malawi, some to take up farming on their colonial land rewards. In fact by 1944 the European population was 1,850 with an estimated 300 children of school age and 50 reaching school age annually.¹⁰

However, not many new suggestions emerged from the Post-war Development Report which in general reaffirmed the needlessness of new schools, at least until 1950, except a day school planned for Lilongwe in the Central Region. In 1945 the existing four primary schools were in fact considered generally adequate for the existing needs.

But European primary education, like that of other communities, grappled with the problem of inadequate staffing. For example St. Andrews School in Blantyre, opened ~~under~~ the auspices of the Church of Scotland's Blantyre Mission, was for sometime left to the Mission for staffing, contrary to the Mission's original expectations. Not even the Zomba School, taken over by Government from Mrs Dally, escaped this plight. St Andrews itself for a long time had to operate precariously under expatriate public servants' wives, as teachers, which never ensured any permanence. When the Blantyre Mission requested Government to take-over full control of St. Andrews,¹¹ the basic problem was recruitment of teachers. The Mission was only too happy to hand over the School to Government at the end of the first term in 1947.¹² In a way this was seen by the majority of European parents as a step in the right direction to rid education of its religious character. The greatest advantage in Government-supported European education in comparison with African and other non-African education, lay in the factor of compulsion to provide education to every white child who, it was felt, needed it more than the other communities.

The post-war trend seemed clearly in favour of European educational advancement, even against the usual odds of demands of similar Government treatment by the other communities. By 1948 Government plans were underway to provide buildings for the Lilongwe European School,¹³ another success story in European education. In 1948 local primary schools provided education for 192 children at a cost to Government of £2,559. Educational allowances in part or in full were paid to 173 children of 10 years or over, in neighbouring countries.¹⁴ On top of all these developments, seven Government university scholarships were held by Europeans compared to a nil return for Africans. In 1948 Government spent £6.4s.7d. ^{per capita} for Europeans and 8s 4d for Africans.

Years Immediately Prior to the Federation

The years 1949-53 marked the most active period in the development of European education in Malawi as European Parents' Associations and the Convention of Associations stepped up pressure for better facilities based on the Post-war Development Committee Report.¹⁵ Government attitude, reflecting the mind of the new dynamic Director of Education, D.S. Miller, seemed more conciliatory and bent to please the White minority in the country within the financial limitations. The need for white support for the proposed Central African Federation, scheduled for launching in 1953, partly explained the new attitude which the settlers exploited to get most of their demands met. The European's support for the Federation was considered more crucial than that of Asians and Coloureds. The Federation was important to the Nyasaland Government for its financial promises. It was a period of bewildering political activity.

The major demands raised by Europeans continued to be dominated by improvement to local primary facilities, bursaries and educational allowances to boarding places in extra-territorial schools, and secondary school and higher education. In tackling these matters Government seemed determined to build a fairly solid base for the Federal Ministry of Education, which would take over all non-African educational responsibility.

The handing-over of St. Andrews School by the Church of Scotland Blantyre Mission to the Government in 1948 represented victory in getting Government into the direct administration of European education. Government soon afterwards faced the problem of boarding facilities for St Andrews while Europeans in Lilongwe looked to the Department of Education to run their Lilongwe school. Government, in view of the increasing European population in Lilongwe, had to approve the erection of the already-cited school and a teacher's dwelling house.¹⁶ The situation simply invited criticism from the other non-African groups who felt neglected. This perhaps partly accounted for the forceful admission of a few Goan children¹⁷ to the Limbe Convent School not only for lack of adequate Asian educational facilities but also to appease the Asians. Europeans could, in fact, even

afford to request Government for the provision of transport between St Andrews and any off-campus hostel, a request granted in principle by the Acting Director of Education whose pressure even led to acceptance by Government to increase from £6 to £10 each, payment to three escorts for European children attending schools in Southern Rhodesia.

Clearly European education had assumed a measure of urgency by 1949. So that when the Advisory Committee on European Education met on 14 October 1949 the planters' and settlers' list of demands continued to grow. Unlike in the case of Asian and Coloured education, Government invited a few members of the public to such meetings as this particular one.¹⁸ Of all the meetings held around this time this represented the most elaborate in the breadth and depth of its deliberations. By 1949 the need of official policy revision seemed clearly occasioned by an unexpected increase in the primary enrolment at St. Andrews¹⁹ at a time when bursaries for extra-territorial primary education had lost official favour.

The issue of secondary education which exploded in 1949 demonstrated Government commitment to assist Europeans. The matter arose from the failure for the first time of 17 Nyasaland pupils to gain admission to Southern Rhodesian secondary schools. The development alarmed both parents and Government. Government had to take action to show, as the Director of Education declared, that it "was not neglectful of the educational needs of European children in this country, and that provision for the 17 children at present unplaced must and would be made."²⁰ One of the major problems facing European pupils from Malawi in Southern Rhodesia was hostel accommodation. Parents tried to persuade Government unsuccessfully to buy and maintain boarding accommodation in Salisbury. This partly contributed to the idea of a local secondary school. The initial solution to the problem lay in the introduction of the Standards VI and VII at St. Andrews to give the children the first two years of secondary education in the country, contrary to the stipulated health and social requirement of sending children aged ten and over out to school in Rhodesia and other countries. It must be noted, however, that although the Director consented to the idea of

two years secondary education at St. Andrews, the explanation would seem to be financial more than racial in significance, although other racial groups thought otherwise. To Government, local education entailed less cost in the long run. The long-term policy, even after three years, was a full local secondary school once the demand for such education had been gauged. Government policy made provision for education for every European child of school age, and to achieve this one primary day-school to be established in each of the three regions would be sufficient, although the south proved the winner. A satisfactory primary situation would assist the realization of the planned secondary school programme on the acquisition of the necessary statistics.

Secondary education for Europeans proved complicated to a point of leading to a confused policy. For example on cultural grounds, unless Government placed an embargo by withdrawing the available educational assistance, most parents would prefer Rhodesian schools for their children. Surprisingly, perhaps to please the parents, the Department of Education changed its position and stated that for "the lack of cultural activities and the scarcity of competition owing to the comparatively small number of children involved, secondary education in this territory is not in the best interests of the children themselves, if they are in a position to proceed outside for it."²¹ This stance made the Department of Education vulnerable to the Asian and Coloured attacks who, though anxious to have local educational facilities in Malawi, could not get them on the grounds of financial stringency. European choices were respected.

The Director of Education seemed to nurture the fear based on a suspected strong parental feeling in favour of Rhodesian schools even if Government education allowances were withdrawn. The continuation of this state of affairs would rob the idea of a local secondary school of its numerical justification.²² The threat of a local secondary school to lead to the withdrawal of Government allowances did not seem a sufficient force to persuade parents' support for a school in Malawi, although opinion was divided here between the affluent and poor parents. To the Director of Education, given the available statistics, "the safest and most economical procedure would appear to be ... the institution

of the first two or three secondary classes in Nyasaland from 1951 onwards"²³ by constructing additional accommodation at St Andrews. The planned withdrawal of Government financial assistance for the three secondary classes ex-territorially was seen as likely to bring support to the St. Andrews programme. In this whole discussion of secondary education, Government seemed to adopt an ambivalent stance, understandably so, pressed, in particular, between European and other wider interests. But the introduction of the lower secondary classes at St. Andrews marked the beginning of local European secondary education. It was at this time that the demand by some European parents grew for educational assistance for their children in British schools. The demand received little sympathy although even as late as the mid-1950's the majority of the Advisory Committee for non-African Education unanimously agreed to encourage European parents to send their children outside Malawi for secondary education,²⁴ the perennial limitation being boarding accommodation especially in Southern Rhodesia, which the Director of Education promised to organise during 1951.²⁵ It in fact proved more complex than the discussion of the new proposition to build a Boys Boarding School in Limbe, following the change of the Limbe Convent to provide school boarding facilities to girls only, to which the Director of Education could only extend sympathy with a vague financial promise,²⁶ at a time when Government had just agreed to a request for educational assistance for children attending schools in Britain from the age of 11.²⁷

By the establishment of the Central African Federation in 1953, significant achievements had been effected in European education. Not less than five primary schools were operational, with some secondary classes inaugurated at St. Andrews while educational assistance continued, at an increased level, to pupils attending secondary education elsewhere. The position of escorts to Salisbury had been regularized and the principle had been accepted to allow parents to send their children to Britain with commensurate educational assistance. It thus seemed that the continued accusations by parents of Government's neglect of European education lacked any foundation. As the Director of Education defended Government, "the feeling that Government is not greatly

concerned with the education problems of Europeans in this territory is certainly not borne out by the amount of time - disproportionate to the numbers concerned - which is spent by the Deputy Director and myself on problems of European education."²⁸ In a way it was a relief to hand-over to the Federal Ministry of Education the administration of European education in 1953. On their part European parents cherished new hopes in the Federation which other racial groups did not seem to see.

The Federal Interlude 1953-61

When the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was finally dissolved in 1963 the Federal Prime Minister, Roy Welensky, considered education as one of the Federation's most outstanding achievements.²⁹ Although Welensky's remark must not be too generalised its relevance to European education is, however, impossible to deny. Differences of actual benefit, of course, existed from territory to territory so that Rhodesia in fact emerged as the recipient of the lion's share, with Malawi ranking at the bottom. But even in this situation, European education in Malawi seemed to command the greatest favour.

The Federation used as its prop the philosophy of partnership which in its finer detail represented a meaningless slogan, not only in the general political life but also in education. Partnership designed as a useful blueprint against integration of facilities and resources involved the maintenance of a subtle balance in education and economic development to sustain a proper racial and regional pyramid arrangement of inequality.³⁰ On the social side Africans as the beasts of burden carrying the pyramid at the bottom wound up with the most unfair part of the deal. While educational facilities for Africans experienced retardation during the Federal interlude, Asian and Coloured education ranked second only to that of Europeans. Equality of opportunity being anathema, any integration between Asians and Coloured communities and Europeans was automatically avoided by the operational education which ensured European supremacy, contrary to the declared intentions³¹ of partnership. Education development had to be watched carefully by devising for the Africans such a system productive of retardation and inequality. As Creighton has observed:

...it is not for economic reasons that the theory of developing social integration through education is hard to reconcile with the practice of the Native Education Department's (Southern Rhodesia) five year plan. It is because the plan offers an education which affords a strictly limited opportunity and very few chances of reaching the higher income levels necessary for an ordinary vote.³²

The fact that European education was free created the ideal atmosphere for the desired differentiation in both numerical and qualitative terms in the Federation. Although the number of Europeans in Malawi was small, European education had to enjoy preponderance over that of the other communities.

The assumption of responsibility over non-African education by the Federal Government was greeted with elation by the territorial Governments and settlers for the promise it held in the promotion of social welfare for non-Africans. But it was clear that although Asians and Coloureds would compete against Europeans for greater facilities the latter were the main beneficiaries.

The Federal policy of non-African education focussed on the provision of uniform kindergarten, primary and secondary educational facilities throughout the Federation. However the fact that the Federation avoided mixed European and Asian or Coloured education in itself revealed the racism in the concept of Federation. The objective, buttressed by settler pressure, clearly reflected the need for a better European education, for the section of the population destined to provide administrative and professional skills above Asians, Coloureds and Africans,³³ although ironically the smallness of the European population, especially in Malawi, would inevitably bring the other races into the important ranks to fill the gap for any meaningful industrial development and expansion. The converse was to try and retard non-European education and the table below illustrates the position in 1958.³⁴

PARTICULARS OF NON-AFRICAN SCHOOLS AND ENROLMENTS: JULY 1958

	<u>Enrolment</u>			
<u>Type of School</u>	<u>No. of Schools</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
European Primary:				
Government	4	446	371	817
Aided	<u>3</u>	<u>92</u>	<u>159</u>	<u>251</u>
Totals	<u>7</u>	<u>538</u>	<u>530</u>	<u>1068</u>
European Secondary:				
Government	1	81	58	139
Aided*	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>14</u>
Totals	<u>1</u>	<u>81</u>	<u>72</u>	<u>153</u>
Asian and Coloured Primary:				
Government	18	1309	985	2294
Aided	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>7</u>
Totals	<u>19</u>	<u>1315</u>	<u>986</u>	<u>2301</u>

* Secondary classes in one of the Aided Primary Schools

A number of matters are noteworthy in European education. Firstly, the operational compulsory education between the ages of 7-15 ensured the maximization of the eventual production of the needed administrators and professionals, the age-span of compulsion covering both primary and secondary phases. Although no tuition fees were charged in the primary sector, there was no real lack of funds in Federal European education and the subsidy came from the African sector at the expense of ^{its} ~~his~~ own educational expansion. Secondly, Europeans children did not have to repeat a school standard or class and no rigid academic selection criteria for secondary school existed except those used in identifying potential skills for proper training placement. By 1958 both primary and secondary school facilities were available in Malawi,³⁵ unlike the Asian and Coloured communities who continued to attend secondary education in neighbouring countries

until the inauguration in 1961 of the so-called Sir Robert Armitage Secondary School wing at Chichiri in Blantyre for Asians and Coloureds.

European parents, even with the available local educational facilities, continued to exercise a choice of sending their children to ex-territorial schools. For non-Europeans, even before the Sir Robert Armitage Secondary School, getting places in Rhodesian schools remained a tough hurdle, as if planned to arrest non-European education. The Jack Report included a list of Asian primary schools at Blantyre, Limbe, Lilongwe, Zomba and Dedza³⁶ but most of these were ill-equipped with very poor teachers, unlike the European school which always had teachers with 2-3 year university training for a certificate of education.³⁷ This rule was a must, particularly in European secondary and technical training. The Jack Report gave perhaps the most apt policy summary governing European education:

The Asian and Coloured communities are in a different position. Unlike the Europeans, the type of technical training they require can be provided comparatively easily and cheaply.³⁸

Thus the European child deserved the best of the available education; any factors likely to cause potential delays in the pupils' schooling were removed so that, apart from the absence of prohibitive fees and an easy but carefully worked-out selection process, the variety of secondary courses aimed at meeting the abilities, needs and interests of the Europeans, with any less able students benefitting from special programmes designed for them to catch up.

In Federal European education the important, indeed crucial, factors for white hegemony included the scholarship board and the Education Advisory Committee. The Bursaries and Scholarship Board held the key to the educational preponderance of a racial group. The dominant European membership on such Boards simply demonstrated the likely side of the pendulum in the allocation of scholarships.³⁹ The creation of African and non-African Federal scholarship Boards failed to change the situation which continued to reflect an advantageous position for Europeans at the expense of the Coloured, Asian and African communities. In question was not simply a qualification but numerically strategy

concerning beneficiaries of Government scholarships on racial lines. The Federal Education Advisory Committee, replacing territorial committees and handling non-African education for all the three territories, made every effort to ensure European leadership⁴⁰ over a huge non-African population which in 1952 stood as follows:⁴¹

	<u>Africans</u>	<u>Europeans</u>	<u>Asians</u>	<u>Coloured</u>	<u>Total</u>
Southern Rhodesia	1,800,000	152,000	4,600	6,300	1,962,900
Northern Rhodesia	1,930,000	43,000	3,100	1,200	1,977,300
Nyasaland	<u>2,270,000</u>	<u>5,000</u>	<u>6,000</u>	<u>500</u>	<u>2,281,500</u>
	6,000,000	200,000	13,700	8,000	6,221,700

In conclusion, although European education in Malawi started under difficult circumstances, with a minimum of Protectorate Government support, Government attitude changed gradually in response to settler pressure to give it a more favourable place.⁴² European education in general benefitted even more under the Federation which represented a political structure based on European superiority and leadership. The promise of the Post-war Development Programme for similar education facilities for all non-African communities comfortably rested on the shelf as an inappropriate dream, as the Federation exhausted its decade of life.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER VIII

1. Nyasaland Times 21 Feb 1933. NY 3/2/10 (MNA, Zomba)
2. Robert Caldwell (Acting Director of Education) Memorandum, "Problem of European Education: History and Suggested Solution," File 51/1587/27 Vol 1 1930 (MNA, Zomba) p.9
3. See Appendix to Caldwell, "Problem of European Education..."
4. "Resolution of the Select Committee on European Education, 4 Nov. 1930," File 51/1587/27 Vol I (MNA, Zomba)
5. Lord Passfield (Colonial Office) to Governor Thomas, Dispatch No. 137 20/5/1931. File 51/1587/27. Vol I (MNA, Zomba)
6. Nyasaland Times 21/2/1933
7. Minutes of the Chamber of Commerce, 14/3/1933. File NY3/2/10 Vol 10 (MNA, Zomba)
8. N.A.C.R. 1933, p.32
9. "Memorandum by Mr Lacey, Director of Education, for Consideration by the Committee Appointed to Enquire into and Report on the Present Systems of Education in the Protectorate," Confidential, submitted Aug. 1939. File 51/395/26 (MNA Zomba)
10. P.W. Dev. Rep p.50
11. Mins Blantyre Mission Council, 9/12/1945, ACC 7548 330B (N.L.S. Edinburgh)
12. Mins Blantyre Mission Council 21-24 Jan 1947; ACC 7548 330B (N.L.S. Edinburgh)
13. Mins of Special Meeting of Advisory Committee on European Education, 14/1/1948. File EUR 109/52 Vol I Box 3540 (MNA, Zomba)
14. Ed. Dep. Rep. 1948 p.13
15. P.W. Dev. Rep. p.50
16. Mins of Advisory Committee on Education 10/9/1948 CO 525/202/44070/6 (P.R.O.)
17. Ibid
18. The meeting on 14 October 1949 was attended by 7 invited guests as well. See Mins of the Advisory Committee on European Education 14/10/1949 File EUR 109 Box 152 (MNA, Zomba)

19. Ibid
20. Ibid
21. Director of Education's Paper entitled "European Education",
on File EUR 132 Box 153 (MNA, Zomba)
22. Children Qualifying to Start Secondary Education

	<u>1951</u>	<u>1952</u>	<u>1953</u>
At present in South African Schools	3	3	2
At present in Southern Rhodesian Schools	20	19	6
At present in Nyasaland Schools	<u>12</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>27</u>
Total	35	37	35

Source: Ibid

The total secondary roll in Nyasaland would be as follows if all pupils in Southern Rhodesian primary and secondary schools remained there:

1951 - 12; 1952 - 27; 1953 - 54.

Source: Precis for Executive Council 21/2/1950. File EUR 132, Box 153 (MNA, Zomba)

23. Director of Education's Paper entitled "European Education,"
File EUR 132 Box 153 (MNA, Zomba)
24. Director of Education to Chief Secretary, Zomba, 2/6/1950.
File EUR 132 Box 153 (MNA, Zomba)
25. The Nyasaland Government Gazette Notice No 492, 30/12/1950 by
Director of Education. File EUR 132 Box 153 (MNA, Zomba)
26. Mins of the Advisory Committee on European Education, 21/3/1952.
File EUR 132 Box 153 (MNA, Zomba)
27. Mins of the Advisory Committee on European Education, 7/10/1952.
File EUR 132 Box 153 (MNA, Zomba)
28. Notes by Director of Education, Feb 1952. File EUR 109/52
Box 152 (MNA, Zomba)
29. Fed. of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Legacy of Progress: Achievements
of the Years of Federation 1953-1963 (C. Fed. 269, Salisbury,
9 December 1963) pp.12-18. Also FRN Federation and Nyasaland:
The Facts (Salisbury, 1963) pp. 10-12
30. See Shirley Williams, Central Africa: The Economics of
Unequality (Fabian Commonwealth Bureau, London 1960) passim
Hereinafter Williams, Central Africa
31. See Sir Gilbert Rennie, Federal High Commissioner in London,
in Scotsman 14/4/1959
32. Creighton, Partnership p.167

33. James, "Education" p.74
34. Jack Report p.184
35. Ibid p.184
36. Ibid p.185
37. James, "Education" p.98
38. Jack Report p.186
39. See the politics surrounding scholarships in Ch. IV "Higher Education" Infra.
40. Details are in the File Series C10/1, "Scholarships Policy 1953-1958", Box 4635 (MNA, Zomba)
41. Carr-Saunders Report p.5 Also see Appendix X for Malawi Population by Race 1901-1966. The only problem here is the inclusion under "Africans" of what used to be the "Coloured" community.
42. Cf Ch. IV footnote 25 on scholarship awards in 1949.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

An appraisal of the post-war colonial educational efforts reveals the haphazardness of policy which generated disparities in educational attainment among the various racial and social categories. Important to note, however, is the fact that although the apparent haphazardness was evidence of poor policy formulation and implementation, the needs of the colonial ideal enshrined in the belief of a proper racial pyramid, to a certain degree, demanded appropriate differentiation which recognized the advantageous position of Europeans. This explains why even in the worst of times every effort was made by the colonial Government to give expression to progressive improvement in European education at the expense of the African majority whose education remained in a poor state even as late as 1961.

The colonial educational set-up with the Europeans at the top of the pyramid, Asians and Coloureds in the middle, and Africans at the bottom only served to demonstrate the racial disparities and the inherent conflict in Malawi. The embarrassment of devising educational policies for minorities created a degree of carelessness and oblivion of majority needs. The most conspicuous feature in non-African education was Government determination to consider non-official European opinion as much as possible. Although the African voice was present, albeit minimal, on the Advisory Committee on African Education, most policy decisions originated from the European quarter where specialist opinion determined the best policy for African education which had as its general objective the creation of enlightened Africans but who were clearly subservient to the colonial racial ethic. Africa was rapidly slipping out of colonial hands and whatever could assist in the maintenance of a measure of European hegemony, for example through the agency of education, deserved some consideration. If education could be manipulated to create a privileged minority class capable of dominating the productive African majority, such a system had to be encouraged. The Federal Government seemed particularly meticulous in promoting European education.

Education for the Asian and Coloured communities, of necessity, had to provide the mid-rung skills below Europeans and above Africans. These communities needed skills provided comparatively more easily and cheaply, as the Jack Commission observed.¹ Whites stood united against privileges of non-whites but Asians and Coloureds often felt satisfied with any gap between them and the Africans that created a difference of superiority for them although without actually penetrating the impervious white circle.² The Central African Federation in fact simply reinforced the racial educational set-up but ran it better.

As a community who first entered Malawi as invited guests of commercial and economic importance in Harry Johnston's Government (1891 - 1896), the Asians failed to enjoy a "fair" share of the education system in terms of quality and sometimes even quantity. Like the Coloured community, Asians demanded recognition as an important part of society and therefore as deserving of a better share of opportunity. Government's evident reluctance to accord the special status to Asians was only to be expected in line with the existing racial policy. The last thing the Government wanted was an education system likely to lead to the rise of strong Asian political personalities and leadership to criticise severely the white minority probably in conjunction with the Coloured community.

As shown in Chapter VII, internal caste and religious divisions coupled with general inability to deal effectively with an organised colonial administration often prejudiced Asian effort to get their education developed. But the Federal period, of course, placed unprecedented interest on the education of those communities under Federal wings to demonstrate its potency. So that, although Europeans formed the central focus in Federal education policy, Asian education demands received a more sympathetic hearing per capita than the African situation.

The Coloured community in comparison with Africans, received a better deal under the Federation, more as a political strategy to enlist loyalty to the much-criticised political structure than as a gesture of racial superiority. The fact of lumping their interests often together with those of the "uncivilised" Asians lends support to the point. In times of need the Coloured

was seen as a likely ally of European interests against the Africans with their vehement disapproval and hatred of the Federation. In this regard Europeans accorded the Coloureds a more useful position in their social considerations. In any case, it was the Coloured less than the Asian from Central Africa whose loyal services in the Imperial forces during the Second World War received notice. The Coloured community arose from social indiscipline or short-sightedness on the part of non-African partners; but, since the stigmatic development could not be reversed, Government, short of assimilation, simply saw the elevation of the Coloured community, although limited, as a logical compromise which would preclude the possibility of any dangerous unity between the Coloured and African communities against the Federation. Anything to create a wedge and alienation between Coloureds and Africans had to be encouraged and educational differentiation finally leading to professional and economic polarity logically served the purpose. The strategy proved right; for indeed, any person classified as "Coloured" was accorded in the Federation a status above the average African which he cherished and defended to the glory of European rather than Asian civilization. Thus, of all the policies governing non-European education, the attempt to force some form of educational integration between Asians and Coloureds proved the most superficial miscalculation. If one of the functions of education is to refine people's social relationships and culture the experiment above operated as nothing but forced love. Asian conservativeness could not countenance Coloured social habits which sought patterns of European social and cultural life, so that the alienation of the Coloured clearly served the desired end of the Federal Government policy.

However, this milieu constituted no lasting solution for the Government because despite his inferior social position the Asian's economic contribution and power commanded official recognition which inevitably required some meaningful reward. So that while educational policy for Europeans was easily dictated by the needs of a dominant racial category, that of Coloureds and Asians presented a complicated situation which, on the basis of competing and conflicting merits, gave rise to the obnoxiously

inappropriate experiment at integrating the two non-European groups. The complication arose from the conspicuous absence of a clear racial policy characterising the Federal period, although ingrained in the structure of partnership was the use of education as one of the main agents for the desired racial polarity. But this arrangement was meant to service the political objectives of the Federation, a situation clearly discerned by the 1961 African Government of Dr. Banda and the Malawi Congress Party. Dr Banda's realization of the ambiguity of the status of the Coloured community, the majority of whose members never enjoyed the so-called preferential treatment in a Federal structure, led him to confer on that community the racial identity of African, particularly given their African blood and, for the majority, culture. Besides, the policy of non-racial education in the new state of Malawi meant the removal of some barriers for non-Africans to the good education formerly for Europeans. This destroyed the props of European supremacy maintained by the Federal Government.

Perhaps the most negative planning by Government relates to African education with its sub-divisions as indicated in the thesis. It was essentially an educational system for underdevelopment, and African subservience even considering the various legitimate limitations such as finance. Perhaps the Phillips Report of 1962 bears the most illuminating testimony of a retarded education with a history of about 85 years since the arrival of the Scottish missionaries. It was an education designed against independence of thought, elitism and internationalism which might challenge the mystique of the European world. And yet in this deprivation lay the seeds of the "forbidden fruit"; and African awakening and reactions were evidenced in the rise of local African educational initiatives, nationalism and indeed the Malawian diaspora.

Colonial educational planners deliberately neglected the recognition of the crucial role of African education to all sectors of the economy. Instead African education was designed, in its retarded form, to benefit the white capitalist economy through the exploitation of an uneducated African labour force. And yet given the slim numbers of European agriculturalists, industrialists and even public servants, considerable reliance

on the African, so poorly educated, was an inevitable reality contrary to the Phelps-Stokes blueprint. As John Phillips pointed out "more and better education for Africans could stimulate economic development"⁴ which in turn could support further expansion and improvement of education. The enormous African contribution came from peasant agriculture producing about "£2.2 to £2.6 million annually of export crops,"⁵ bought at unfair prices by both private and white financiers and Government subsidiaries like the Agricultural Production and Marketing Board (A.P. & M.B.) which purchased tobacco, cotton, maize and pulses grown on Crown Land. On their part, the few European commercial farmers on their thousands of freehold acres of land also used the cheap, uneducated African labour as tenant producers and employees at meagre wages. More and better education was undesirable in order to avoid altering this exploitative status quo aimed mainly at the amelioration of settler interests with Africans serving as the beasts of burden. Lucrative African involvement on the economic scene, the key formula for meaningful development, had to be regulated to avert any unnecessary torpedoing of the system. So that commercial African farming of tobacco, maize, tea, cotton and many other crops, a feature of the independence period, was unsuitable, just as was an education promoting such development. As the Phillips Commission noted:

There is a definite relationship between the effort to be put into a really successful stimulation of economic, that is largely agricultural, development, for the production of local wealth, and the existence of a sufficiently large body of highly educated and well experienced political, administrative and managerial leaders and better educated farming and industrial communities.⁶

It was Phillips' conviction again that "the real and maintained surge in development must await the raising of the general level of education of the farming and industrial communities,"⁷ after about 85 years of western education in Malawi.

However, that some noticeable educational strides did take place in the Post-War period cannot be denied. The Post-War Development Plan, representing the most elaborate document to date, attempted to delineate areas of emphasis in education.

But the dwindling finances towards the end of the first Five-Year Plan, in 1948, leading to the revision of the whole Development Plan, demonstrated the impossibility of systematic implementation of the post-war ideas, using almost stagnant economic resources to finance increasing educational demands. The failure to launch the proposed Polytechnic to cater for low-range skilled training has been bemoaned even by some of the architects of the Development Plan.⁸ And yet it is impossible to divorce this failure from the general strategy in the development of education. Although the second Five-Year Plan, 1949-54, included increased development of senior primary education, while Government increased its control over education, the insufficiency of secondary facilities rendered the Plan short-sighted. An attempt to rectify the evident weaknesses in the Plan was made in the third Five-Year Plan, 1955-59, which was in turn modified by yet the new "supplementary" A Plan for Educational Development 1957/61 to emphasize the attendant uncertainties in the formulation of policy which promoted retardation of African education.

The varied African reactions to the colonial education exposed the weaknesses of the system. In fact, paradoxically, the colonial failures generated in Malawians a combination of anxious and curious expectation and initiative.

The absence of adequate educational opportunity constitutes perhaps the most dynamic force generating African initiatives, educational, political and otherwise, some of these with much earlier origins than 1945 but serving to inspire the post-war period. In the history of Malawi the episode of John Chilembwe's educational adventures in the United States of America and in Malawi, where on return he established the Mbombwe Providence Industrial Mission in Chiradzulu, have been comprehensively covered by Shepperson and Price.⁹ Chilembwe's was a yearning to share the advantages of the mysterious European world to which education held the key. Indirectly, the Chilembwe episode confirmed the continued need in colonial policy for an education for African docility enunciated in the Phelps-Stokes Report of 1925. Rev. Hannock Msokera Phiri's schools under The African Methodist Episcopal Church in Kasungu and Rev. Charles Chinula's Sazu Home Mission¹⁰ schools in Mzimba represented not just a

political expression of defiance but indeed a genuine desire for meaningful education for African development. But, given the enormous financial and manpower handicaps, these African schools made the least education impact except on the psychological plane as manifestations of the African's unswerving determination to demonstrate initiatives and to expose the weakness of colonial education which stripped him of his mature identity.

The Malawian's desire for more and better education marks the romantic chapter of Malawian diaspora in search of opportunity and economic amelioration matching his qualifications. Some Malawians went away and returned home with better qualifications for use among fellow Malawians, but others never came back to the old colonial scene where recognition of the African's ability always experienced blockage. In the first category would rank people such as Chilembwe, Dr Daniel Mal^eikebu, Msokera Phiri while the latter category included the like of Clements Kadalie who eventually improved himself in South Africa to become the first president of the African Industrial and Commercial Workers Union,¹¹ and Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda who after a preparatory sojourn in South Africa following his epic journey, and arts and medical training in America and Scotland, settled to practice medicine in England and Ghana up to 1958. If education created in these people the spirit of adventure to satisfy what might be millennial expectations, the unsatisfactory system provoked among Malawians the political by-product.

During the inter-War period, one of the most dominant demands from the Native Associations was good and increased education, a demand also featuring prominently in the business of the Nyasaland African Congress from 1945. Congress demand for education leading to the needed social and political development of Africans enjoyed no popularity among the colonial policy-makers for the undesirable potential political effects of such an education on the system. The situation demonstrated the ineptitude of the policy-makers not only as a political device but occasionally as a cadre of officials inadequately trained and blind in economic thinking, the preponderant preoccupation being the maintenance of European superiority and domination which permeated the system.

By 1961 education was still characterised by enormous problems

of financial stringency, inadequate facilities, staffing, curriculum relevance, poor distribution of schools and pupil wastage.¹² The decade of "Partnership" conferred no spectacular bonanza on the education for Africans except that of ensuring the maintenance of a delicate balance in education and even economic activity to sustain the proper racial and geographical disparities. The primary sector, in order to feed the secondary ranks efficiently, still called for improvements in staffing, quality of teaching and curricula for both boys and girls, with the necessary job incentives particularly for girls whose bleak employment future often failed to stir ambition. The vicious circle needed breaking to facilitate education for development.

Secondary and higher education for Africans, when it came, constituted the greatest threat to European dominance and had to be handled with meticulous care evident up to 1962. Since this education formed the nucleus of enlightened African leadership any measures to retard it were desirable. When missionary junior secondary education expansion plans gathered momentum with attendant confusion and low standards, better Government alternatives did not seem easy to come by. Even as late as 1961, no real progress had registered in proper planning and the general lay-out of secondary schools, made worse by the absence of effective control, management, inadequate staffing, poor pupil selection procedure, the curriculum and size of schools. If secondary education failed to impress the onlooker, higher education represented the tale of sabotage of progress, almost close to malicious damage to African potential which held the menace to continued European control. University education for Africans would serve as a lethal weapon to upset the existing status quo. The situation, complicated by the assumption of higher education responsibility by the Federal Government, held very little or no hope for African advancement necessary for African self-government. Therefore a neat pattern in operation involved poor and inadequate secondary facilities to arrest the progression of Africans into universities. In fact the politics surrounding the reluctant inauguration of Form Six at Dedza Secondary School have depicted a Government attitude quite uncommitted to wholesale higher educational development

for Africans. So that the insistence of the African-dominated Nyasaland Government in 1962 on the establishment of a University of Malawi launched in 1965 on the basis of the Johnson Report was not just the bigotry of a nationalist Government but an attempt to meet a dire manpower need unsolved during the colonial and Federal era.

The backwardness of the education for both girls and Muslims forms one of the most sad commentaries of the colonial system, a backwardness whose legacy can still be detected in the educational system of Malawi in spite of the Malawi Government's concerted efforts to reverse the trend. In those two areas the blame must be shared by both Missions and the Government for their general downgrading of the position of women in society and their anti-Muslim sentiments, especially by the former. Combined with lack of sufficient imaginativeness in policy-making the colonial attitude towards the education of these two categories was based on devastating stereotypes which only arrested advancement. The absence of progress in this type of education raised only a minimum of alarm, and effort by Missions and Government towards improvement were generally only half-hearted.

Education for girls in Malawi suffered from the biased attitude in favour of boys as potential 'leaders'. This attitude, devoid of foresightedness of planners, compounded the prospects in female education which was conceived mainly in terms of the creation of enlightened Christian wives and mothers rather than partners of men in development and progress in more challenging roles. A highly educated woman seemed incompatible with, in fact a threat to, the colonial ideal. On the other hand, prejudices against education for Muslim children in Malawi were basically religious. While Islam collided with Christian missionary work, the Government, which should have devised more potent policies, left this education largely to the chaos of private enterprise with little regard for the potential role of educated Muslims in the building of Malawi. The Madrassas were a useful beginning for further exploitation within a well-planned policy. In a way, as some of the mission-educated Malawians were already jostling Government over various matters, keeping a population illiterate as large as that of the Muslims ensured peace from

that end where vehement criticism of Government was not quite expected, especially after the War. As a political strategy it worked because even during the nationalist fight for independence in the last half of the 1950's the majority of the Yao Muslims maintained some conspicuous measure in acquiescing in colonial rule. Perpetuation of ignorance, therefore, served a political function of exploitable peace and calm in the colonial framework. The colonial milieu succeeded in planting in Muslims a deep-seated suspicion of western education which has proved hard for the Malawi Government to uproot in its avowed quest for equitable social modernization and change, and distribution of social services. Thus, in general, the story of Western education in post-War colonial Malawi is a tale of neglect, half-hearted application, and conservative policies arising from both ineptitude and planned strategy for under-development, a task the African Government from 1961 grappled with in an attempt to reverse the negative educational trend through the introduction of various urgent measures which fall outside this work. Education in Malawi, therefore, had to serve the colonial ideal in defiance of the declared post-War British colonial policy of prospective political independence for the colonies. Grateful to the Christian missions for their foundations of education, Malawians took over Government in 1961 with bitterness for the dearth of educated Africans to provide the requisite African manpower. Unlike the situation in the Gold Coast (Ghana), localisation in Malawi took a long time, not for the country's love for Europeans but as a necessary preparation in the training of nationals for various posts. Malawi needed an education geared for development which only a national university could promote through the launching of the needed training programmes. At the 1962 UNESCO conference on higher education in Tananarive,¹⁴ Malawi faced the difficult task of submitting almost a nil report. Malawi's main gain at the Conference was the inspiration it gave in the search for positive strategies which confirmed the urgent need for the national university instead of relying on the white-dominated University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland which took an average of only a single Malawian a year.

The close link between educational and economic development

was aptly revealed at the break-up of the Federation when Malawi, with her unrivalled prestigious leadership in education provided by missions early in the century, ranked at the bottom of her two Federal partners, most of the development being concentrated on Southern Rhodesia, despite the enormous contribution of Malawi in African taxes, ¹⁵ with its highest African population density of the three partners.¹⁶

In sum, unlike European education, that of Africans was, according to the Phelps-Stokes Commission, something to be proceeded with cautiously, a dictum running throughout the history of colonial education in Malawi.

FOOTNOTES
CONCLUSION

1. See Jack Report p.186
2. See L.H. Gann and P. Duignan, White Settlers in Tropical Africa (Penguin African Series, London 1962) ch. 2 esp. pp. 68-69
3. See Table 19 in Phillips Report p.93 included as Appendix XI
4. Phillips Report p. 293
5. Ibid p.293
6. Ibid p.293
7. Ibid p.313
8. Interview with T.D. Thomson, Coldingham, Scotland, Feb. 1982
9. See Shepperson and Price, Independent African passim.
10. See some details in Bridglal Pachai, "A History of Colonial Education for Africans in Malawi" in Mugomba and Nyaggah, Independence without Freedom, ch.6 esp. pp 142-145
11. Details in Clements Kadalie, My Life and the I.C.U. (South African Studies No. 3, London 1970)
12. See Phillips Report pp 57-62
13. See D.S. Pearson and W.L. Taylor, Break-up: Some Economic Consequences for the Rhodesians and Nyasaland (The Phoenix Group, London, 1963) passim. Hereinafter Pearson and Taylor, Break-up. Also see Williams, Central Africa chs. 5 and 6
14. UNESCO, The Development of Higher Education in Africa: Report of the Conference on the Development of Higher Education in Africa, Tananarive 1962 (UNESCO, Paris 1962) passim.
15. See N.A.C.R. 1960 p.45 for details of African tax.
16. Estimated African Population at 31 December 1958:

S.Rhodesia 2,590,000 N.Rhodesia 2,250,000 Nyasaland 2,720,000

Source: Philip Mason, Year of Decision: Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1960 (O.U.P., London 1960) Appendix III p.267

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Mission Schools in Early 1950's

Mission	Assisted Primary Schools	Unassisted Primary Schools	Total
Southern Province			
Catholic	165	523	668
Church of Scotland	82	100	182
Nyasa	16	78	94
Seventh Day Adventist	-	74	74
Zambesi	9	43	52
S.A. General	10	29	39
U.M.C. A.	19	6	25
Dutch Reformed Church	4	16	20
Churches of Christ	2	7	9
Muslim	6	-	6
Assemblies of God	-	4	4
TOTAL SOUTHERN PROVINCE	313	880	1,173
Central Province			
Dutch Reformed Church	137	650	787
Catholic	157	246	403
Church of Scotland	7	12	19
U.M.C.A.	24	23	47
Zambesi	17	23	40
Churches of Christ	10	10	20
TOTAL CENTRAL PROVINCE	352	964	1,316
Northern Province			
Church of Scotland	82	109	191
Catholic	48	110	158
Seventh Day Adventist	-	17	17
U.M.C.A.	9	-	9
TOTAL NORTHERN PROVINCE	139	236	375
TOTAL, NYASALAND	804	2,080	2,864

It can be seen from the table that the Catholic Missions with their 1,229 schools run nearly half the Protectorate's total of 2,884 schools; the majority of the Catholic schools are in the Southern and Central Provinces. Next comes the Dutch Reformed Church Mission with 807 schools, nearly all of which are in the Central Province, and then comes the Church of Scotland Mission with 392 schools, mostly in the Northern and Southern Provinces. The other Missions have the following totals: Nyasa (94), Seventh Day Adventist (91), U.M.C.A. (81), S.A. General (39), Churches of Christ (29), Muslim (6).

In addition of the 24 assisted secondary schools and teacher training centres in the Protectorate, 13 are run by the Catholic Missions, 6 by the Church of Scotland Mission, 2 each by the Dutch Reformed Church Mission and the Seventh Day Adventist Mission, and 1 by the U.M.C.A.

Also Table 1 in the Jack Report p.169

No. of children enrolled in African Schools 1948-57 compared with Estimated Totals of African children of School-going age

Year	Estimated Total Afric. Pop.	Estimated No. of Children of Primary School -going Age (20% of total pop.)	No. of Children Enrolled	Percentage of Children Enrolled
1948	2,270,000	454,000	217,222 (88,399)	48 (19)
1949	2,305,000	461,000	228,304 (91,523)	50 (20)
1950	2,340,000	468,000	219,647 (84,716)	47 (18)
1951	2,392,000	478,000	240,794 (91,732)	50 (19)
1952	2,456,000	491,000	224,417 (87,098)	46 (18)
1953	2,501,000	500,000	220,119 (86,882)	44 (17)
1954	2,482,000	496,000	239,918 (94,481)	48 (19)
1955	2,560,000	512,000	246,153 (104,232)	48 (20)
1956	2,600,000	520,000	261,116 (113,976)	50 (22)
1957	2,660,000	532,000	265,678 (125,857)	50 (24)

Note: Lower figures in brackets are for Government and government-assisted schools only.

Source: Jack Report, p.169.

Appendix II

TABLE II

PROJECTION OF PUPILS AND STAFF IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS TO 1980*

Year	U	A	S	P	T	St.7.	St.8.
1962	151	175	326	3.59	4,215	10.2	9.5
1963	139	226	365	3.70	4,645	15.6	12.3
1964	125	235	360	3.81	5,222	27.4	
1965	112	258	370	3.92	5,733	28.9	
1966	99	281	380	4.04	6,244	30.2	
1967	90	305	395	4.16	6,778	30.2	
1968	82	330	412	4.29	7,333	34.4	
1969	74	356	430	4.41	7,911	41.0	
1970	67	382	449	4.55	8,489	43.6	
1971	60	408	468	4.69	9,067	46.2	
1972	55	434	489	4.83	9,644	48.8	
1973	50	460	510	4.97	10,222	51.4	
1974	50	485	535	5.12	10,778	53.9	
1975	50	510	560	5.28	11,333	56.4	
1976	50	535	585	5.43	11,889	58.9	
1977	50	560	610	5.60	12,444	61.4	
1978	50	585	635	5.76	13,000	63.9	
1979	50	610	660	5.94	13,556	66.4	
1980	50	640	690	6.12	14,222	69.4	

Key: All numbers of pupils are given in thousands.
 U = Number of pupils in unassisted schools.
 A = Number of pupils in assisted and Government schools.
 S = U + A
 P = Total estimated population (millions).
 T = Number of qualified teachers required.

From 1961 nomenclature changed from sub standards A and B to standards 1 - 8 (full primary course).

Source: Johnson Report p. 9

Appendix III

No. of Pupils completing each year in School in 1950

	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Total</u>
Sub-Standard A	17,687	13,755	31,442
Sub-Standard B	15,729	7,623	23,352
Standard I	7,863	2,057	9,920
" II	4,183	962	5,145
" III	2,945	573	3,518
" IV	1,119	149	1,268
" V	650	45	695
" VI	461	38	499
" VII	78	1	79
" VIII	49	2	51
" IX	-	-	-
" X	12	-	12
" XI	-	-	-
" XII	-	-	-

Source: Table IV Deputy Director of Education (A.G. Fraser) to A.L. Binns, 17/10/1951. GEN 956, "Educ: Review of Colonial Policy", Box 163 (MNA, Zomba).

Appendix IV: Catholic Junior Secondary Schools by 1960

<u>School</u>	<u>District</u>	<u>Date Established</u>
Mtendere Boys'	Dedza	1949
Providence Girls'	Mulanje	1950
St. Patrick's Boys' (Mzedi)	Chiradzulu	1955
Chaminade (originally co-ed but by 1960 Boys')	Karonga	1956
Nkhata Bay Boys'	Nkhata Bay	1956
Likuni Boys'	Lilongwe	1959
Likuni Girls' (Pax Christi)	Lilongwe	1959
St. Mary's Girls'	Zomba	1959
(Zomba Catholic excluded)		

Source: Nankwenya, "Role of Catholic Missions" p.134

Protestant Schools

Malamulo (S.D.A.)	Thyolo
Kongwe (Robert Blake) (DRCM)	Dowa
Livingstonia (livingstonia)	Rumphi
Malosa (U.M.C.A.)	Machinga (formerly Kasupe)
H.H.I (Blantyre)	Blantyre

Appendix V

Cambridge Overseas School Certificate Examination Results

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidates</u>	<u>1st Class</u>	<u>2nd Class</u>	<u>3rd Class</u>	<u>Fail</u>
<u>Southern Rhodesia</u>					
1949	34 (including 1 girl)	7	10	16	1
1950		17	14	16	2
1951	37 (including 5 girls)	<u>9</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>7</u>
Total:	120 of whom 110 passed	33	35	42	10
<u>Northern Rhodesia</u>					
1946	6	-	-	3	3
1947	12	0	4	2	6
1948	7	0	4	3	0
1949	15	2	6	4	3
1950	18	0	7	8	3
1951	<u>20</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>3</u>
Total:	78 of whom 60 passed	6	27	24 + 3	18
<u>Nyasaland</u>					
1947	2	0	2	0	0
1950	<u>10</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>
Total:	12 all passed	5	5	2	0

Appendix VI: Secondary School Enrolment, 1960

Govt. Schools:	Forms	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
Boys		75	66	32	57	14	9	253
Girls		<u>14</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>32</u>
Total		89	81	32	60	14	9	285
Assisted Schools:								
Boys		397	337	53	34	-	-	821
Girls		<u>86</u>	<u>77</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>170</u>
Total		483	414	57	37	-	-	991
Unassisted Schools:								
Boys		111	45	6	7	-	-	169
Girls		<u>43</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>56</u>
Total		154	49	15	7	-	-	225
Total	Boys	583	448	91	98	14	9	1243
	Girls	<u>143</u>	<u>96</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>258</u>
Total		726	544	104	104	14	9	1501

Source: Phillips Report p.37

Higher School Certificate Results

	<u>Candidates</u>	<u>Passes</u>
1956	4	1
1957	9	4
1958	8	5
1959	18	9
1960	9	2

Source: Phillips Report p.70

Appendix VII: Movement from Primary Standard Six to
Secondary Form One.

		<u>Form I</u>	<u>Previous Standard VI</u>	<u>% Entry</u>
1955	Boys	343	1237	27.7
	Girls	<u>18</u>	<u>165</u>	<u>10.9</u>
	Total	361	1402	25.0
1956	Boys	437	2095	20.8
	Girls	<u>31</u>	<u>223</u>	<u>13.9</u>
	Total	468	2318	20.1
1957	Boys	485	3008	14.8
	Girls	<u>61</u>	<u>415</u>	<u>14.7</u>
	Total	546	3423	14.8
1958	Boys	485	3420	14.2
	Girls	<u>85</u>	<u>544</u>	<u>15.6</u>
	Total	570	3964	14.4
1959	Boys	528	4197	12.5
	Girls	<u>117</u>	<u>712</u>	<u>16.4</u>
	Total	645	4909	13.1
1960	Boys	583	4568	12.5
	Girls	<u>143</u>	<u>799</u>	<u>17.9</u>
	Total	726	5367	13.5

Source: Phillips Report p.56

Appendix VIII

AFRICAN COMMONWEALTH MUSLIM COLLEGE BOX 7 SALIMA

C O N S T I T U T I O N

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT OF AFRICAN COMMONWEALTH

1. A. Verily it will be of all wisdom courses.

To remove from the path of that which is harmful is charity.

- B. The faithful do not die, perhaps they become translated from this perishable world to the world of eternal existence.

2. African Education will not fear or attend oppression, buy holy war (Greatest Jihad), but assist any person oppressed, whether Muslim or non-Muslim, acquire knowledge it enableth the possessor to distinguish right from wrong and that these are two kinds of laws in the world.

3. This Education is by force, "is the law". He dieth who not to taketh do leaving, one learned man is harder one the devil than a thousands ignorants worshippers, wisdom is the stray camel of the faithful. Anyone speaking against this will charge for their children.

4. All teachers are to be paid from the same grounds and do not take revenge:-

- a. Daily religious practice, will be done in Churches, and Mosques, know and love Allah (God)
 - b. Believe in Allah and his Prophets
 - c. Do good and love anyone
 - d. Be kind to your relatives
 - e. Keep away from all that is shameful and disgraceful
 - f. Feed the poor and the travellers
 - g. Do not take revenge
 - h. Do not be proud and boastful
 - i. Praise Allah every morning and Evening and spend the day in pursuit
 - j. Be thrifty and not waste, But know that people are seeking for wisdom

cont.

5. All Schools Curriculumed, Caucentered. If a man complains of pain in his head, his whole body complainth. The most perfect of the believers in faith is the best of them in moral excellence.
6. Paint, Education, Carpentry, Hospital, Staffs etc will paid from the same grounds and all buildings will be of upstairs.
7. No overage for unmarried boys, overage limit means suspicious, for suspicion is worse lie and most unreliable thing in the World and Oppression.
8. a. There will be one senior Secondary School in each District, and one Junior Secondary School in each sub-District.
b. Moral, French will be taught in secondary schools.
9. Night Schools will be in operation, and fees will be charged according to Classes.
10. Wisest men will employed from University Colleges of United Kingdom, America, Germany and Muslim Academy in Zanzibar. But experienced men will be employed from Malawi Land (etc, My children will be educated without charge.)
- 11.a. There will be one Senior Primary School in each Native Authority's and one Junior Primary School in each village.
b. For religion of Muslim will be studied in English, Nyanja, Swahili and Arabic, by classes, and Circumcision in Holidays and Hospitals.
- 12.a. Money will saved orderily by I.
b. Stamps will be used Officially,
c. Businesses will be made to obtain money. by:- Webster Saidi; Alfred Saidi; Laws W. Mwandire & etc & DG.

Organized by Enos Whiteson Mwandire

D.Litt: D.D; BA; AG; TW; DCh; CA; ETC & DG.

There is no physician but the experience and improvements in Indipendence

Some saying:-

It is difficult for a man leaden with riches to climb the steep path that leadeth to bliss.

Feed the hungry and visit the sick, and free the captive, if he be Unjustly confined. Assist any person oppressed, whether Muslim or non Muslim. Jews and Christians who read the Bible and the Evangel act on them.

When the bier of any on passeth by thee whether Jews; Christian or Muslim, rise to thy feet

by:- E.Mwandire OG,
Yohani Whiteson Mwandire
Daud. H Gelu. DG.

(reproduced as
originally written)

Appendix IX: Particulars of Non-African Schools and Enrolments: July 1958.

Type of School	No. of Schools	Enrolment		
		Male	Female	Total
<u>European Primary:</u>				
Government	4	446	371	817
Aided	3	92	159	251
Totals	7	538	530	1068
<u>European Secondary:</u>				
Government	1	81	58	139
Aided	-	-	14	14
Totals	1	81	72	153
<u>Asian & Coloured Primary:</u>				
Government	18	1309	985	2294
Aided	1	6	1	7
Totals	19	1315	986	2301

Jack Report p.184

Population of Malawi by Race: 1901 - 1966:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Africans</u>	<u>Europeans</u>	<u>Asians</u>	<u>Total</u>
1901	736,724	314	115	737,153
1911	969,183	766	481	970,430
1921	1,199,934	1,486	563	1,201,983
1926	1,290,885	1,656	850	1,293,391
1931	1,599,888	1,975	1,591	1,603,454
1945	2,044,707	1,948	2,804	2,049,914
1966	4,023,193	7,046	10,880	4,042,412

Source: Malawi Population, 1966 Provisional Report p.9

From 1961 Africans and the Coloured community were grouped together as "Africans."

Appendix X: Directors of Education up to 1961

R.F. Gaunt	1926 - 1928
R. Caldwell (Acting)	1928 - 1930
A.T. Lacey	1930 - 1939
R.H.W. Wisdom	1939 - 1947
D.S. Miller	1948 - 1952
R.F. Stowell	1953 - 1958
I.C.H. Freeman	1958 - 1964

STATEMENT OF SOURCES

1 Unpublished Primary Sources

A. Oral Interviews

Oral data was collected from both Malawi and Britain and only a partial list of informants has been supplied. Malawians and non-Malawians of various walks, but associated with the country's educational developments, were interviewed mainly between 1980 and 1982. In this work, personal views from both the educators, missionary and non-missionary, and the target groups assisted in the assessment of the often conflicting expectations in educational policy. Satisfactory co-operation was received from both Malawian and non-Malawian informants. Asians, however, proved the most reluctant to supply information.

The interviews have been arranged according to areas where they were conducted rather than in a strict alphabetical order; the alphabetical arrangement follows only the area divisions.

MALAWI (abbreviations: V=Village; T.A.=Traditional Authority; D=District; Int=Interviewed)

a) Chiumia, J.O. - born 1934; Village: Materera; Traditional (former Native) Authority: Chindi; District: Mzimba; T3 teacher. Int: Sept 1980

Kaunda, Rev. - born 1907; V: Chaluma; T.A.: Mabulabo; District: Mzimba. Taught from 1928 to 1945 and became Church Minister. Int: Sept 1980

b) Khonje, John - born 1907; V: Zinolema; T.A.: Mtwalo; District: Mzimba. Became teacher in 1935. Int: Sept 1980.

Nkosi, Matthew - born 1890; V: Magwegwe; T.A.: Mtwalo; D: Mzimba; Qualified as a Std. 6 teacher in 1916 and became a preacher in 1916; Int: Sept 1980.

Chafulumira, Nelson Felix - born Nov 1928; V: Kadikira; T.A.: Kunthembwe; D: Blantyre; Failed Form IV; Taught but later became Traditional Courts Officer; Int: Aug 1980

Gama, Andrew George - born Apr. 1930; V: Goloza Gama; T.A.: Mtwalo; D: Mzimba. T2 Teacher ex-Domasi; T.T.C. 1958; Int: Aug 1980

Gondwe, Lyson Simon - born June 1928; V: Chaluluma Jere; T.A.: Mtwalo; D: Mzimba. Attained Junior Certificate and became a teacher. Int: Aug 1980

Kumwenda, Paton Timeyo - born Oct 1927; V: Zabloni; T.A.: Mtwalo; D: Mzimba; Primary Teacher since 1955. Int: Aug 1980

- Msukuma, Chiwete Joel Kamoza - born Sept 1928. V: Sukuma; D: Mzimba; T.A.: Chindi III; T2 teacher. Int: Aug 1980
- Nkhonjera, Austin Lackson - born June 1928; V: Honga; T.A.: Chindi; D: Mzimba; Trained as teacher after Std 6 in 1946; Int: Aug 1980
- Phiri, Kidder Kauzanwambo - born March 1925; V: Musitu; T.A.: Fukama-piri; D: Nkhata Bay; After Standard Six in 1942 got Teacher's Certificate; Int: Aug 1980
- Phiri, Lamken Richards - born March 1925; V: Amon Lungu; T.A.: Mzukuzuku; D: Mzimba; After Standard Six qualified as T2 teacher 1954; One Year educational administration course at Nottingham University. Int: Aug 1980
- Phiri, M.C. - born Aug 1940; V: Yotamu Gumbo; T.A.: Mabulabo; D: Mzimba; Qualified as T1 teacher in 1962. Int: Aug 1980
- Sibande, Rev Francis Samson - born July 1927; V: Kapingo; T.A.: Mthwalo; D: Mzimba; After J.C. in 1953 trained as a teacher eventually becoming Church Minister; Int: Aug 1980
- c) Chilima, Jeremiah Solomon - born 1925; V: Ifumbo; T.A.: Mwaulambya; D: Chitipa; Worked as teacher, Soil Conservation Assistant, and market-revenue Collector; 1949 attained junior certificate; Int: Aug 1980
- Kabungo, John Mesheki - born 1943; V: Kenya; T.A.: Kameme; D: Chitipa; Retired court messenger. Int: Aug 1980.
- Kapesa, Millison Cheyo - born 1935; V: Ichinga; T.A.: Mwabulambya; D: Chitipa; Attained Standard Four; Int: 15.7.80.
- Mfungwe, Meckwell Mwampaya - born 1915; V: Chikhombwe; T.A.: Mwabulambya; D: Chitipa; Attended school 1938-1945; Int: Aug 1980
- Mulagha, Christopher - born 1919; V: Chikhombwe; T.A.: Mwabulambya; D: Chitipa; After 8 years schooling ended up a cobbler; Int: Aug 1980
- Ng'ambi, Benson Kenani - born 1936; V: Mweniwanda; T.A.: Mwabulambya; D: Chitipa; Attained Standard Six and became Veterinary Assistant Int: Aug 1980

Nyondo, Prize Chele - born 1912; V: Chikhombwe; T.A.: Mwabulambya;
D: Chitipa - mission-trained teacher after
Standard Four; Int: Aug 1980

Simukonda, Darson Laban - born 1936; V: Chipakama; T.A.:
Mwabulambya; D: Chitipa; After Standard
Six trained as Veterinary Assistant; Int:
Aug 1980

Sikwese, Anyelwisye, P.M. - born Aug 1936; V: Itongo; T.A.:
Mwabulambya; D: Chitipa; Attained
Junior Certificate 1958; Trained as T3
teacher; Int: Aug 1980

d)Banda, Michael Wilson - born 1912; V: Machilika; T.A.: Chulu; D:
Kasungu; Completed Standard Four 1935 and
became teacher; Int: July 1980

Chingalawa, Wilson Yisake - born 1924; V: Chavula; S.T.A.:
Simulemba; D: Kasungu; Completed
Standard Six 1947 and became T3 teacher.
Int: Aug 1980

Chirwa, Elias Kabenga - born Oct 1900; V: Mphonwa; T.A.: Chulu;
Completed Standard Four 1924, worked as
teacher, clerk, agricultural instructor and
produce buyer; Int: July 1980

Chirwa, Israel R. - born April 1912; V: Peter; S.T.A.: Chisikwa;
D: Kasungu; Attained Standard Four 1933;
Trained as teacher; Int: Aug 1980

Chirwa, Jonathan - born 1894; V: Muluka; S.T.A.: M'nyanja; D:
Kasungu; Attended school for six years; no
particular profession; Int: Sept 1980

Chisamba, Melekias Josam - born 1928; V: Chakhala; T.A.: Kaomba;
D: Kasungu; Attained Standard Six 1948 and
became teacher; Int: Aug 1980

Kamanga, William C. - born 1914; V: Kalowe; T.A.: Chulu; D:
Kasungu; Attained Standard Six 1936 and became
teacher; Int: Aug 1980

Mtambalika, Phillimon Paulos - born c. 1904; V: Jonasi; S.T.A.:
M'nyanja; D: Kasungu; Attained
Standard Four 1920; became teacher;
Int: Sept 1980

Mwale, Evaris Frank Moloko - born 1928; V: Padukana; S.T.A.:
M'nyanja; D: Kasungu; Attained Form
Two 1960 and became T3 teacher.

Mwale, Makaka - born 1923; V: Chiphaso; T.A.: Kaomba; D: Kasungu;
Attained Standard Six and became teacher; Int: Aug 1980

- Mwanza, Grave Sakaika - born 1921; V: Chavungama; T.A.: Chulu; D: Kasungu; attained Standard Four; retired agricultural instructor; Int: July 1980
- Chiwoza, Y.K. - born 1904; V: Chiwoza; T.A.: Chulu; D: Kasungu; retired policeman; Int: July 1980
- Phiri, H.A. Kumala - born 1926; V: Pitala; S.T.A.: Chiskwa; D: Kasungu; Attained Standard Five and became T3 teacher; Int: Aug 1980
- Saka, Jonas Gwambayike - born 1912; V: Buku; T.A.: Chulu; D: Kasungu; completed Standard Four 1927; worked as watchman and foreman in the Public Works Dept.
- e) Jiya, Ernest N. - born 1918; V: Ntagaluka; T.A.: Mponda; D: Mangochi; completed Standard Two 1939; no profession; Int: Aug 1980
- Kachepa, Donald John - born 1906; V: Kalonga; T.A.: Mponda; D: Mangochi; Completed Standard Five 1930; worked as clerk in Tanganyika; Int: Aug 1980
- Kachimanga, Henderson Jim - born Feb 1931; V: Chikhamwazi; T.A.: Njolomole; D: Ntcheu; completed Standard Six 1951 and joined teaching; Int: Aug 1980
- Kambalame, John - born March 1913; V: Mphwere; T.A.: Nkalo; D: Mulanje; Completed Standard Six and joined teaching 1936; Int: Aug 1980
- Kulupando, William Elias Sailes - born Aug 1932; V: Kalinde; T.A.: Kumtumanji; D: Zomba; Completed Standard Six 1957 and joined teaching
- Mgala, Duncan Banda - born 1912; V: Kusuwa; T.A.: Mponda; D: Mangochi; Completed Standard Six 1936; became Policeman; Int: Aug 1980
- Mhango, Peter Godfrey - born May 1907; V: Chitokoto Chiweta; T.A.: Chikulamayembe; D: Rumphi; Completed Standard Six 1929, pursued a medical career; Int: Aug 1980
- Navaya, Kayinga Samson - born 1921; V: Fodya; T.A.: Ngabu; D: Chikwawa; Completed Standard Six 1942 and became a clerk.
- Wonondo, Martin Barnet - born Jan 1940; V: M'ngoni; T.A.: Bvumbwe; D: Thydo; Joined teaching after Standard Six 1958

- f) Binali, Boniface Albert - born c. 1930; V: Namwera; T.A.: Jalasi;
D: Mangochi; After Standard Six joined
teaching; Int: Aug 1980
- Chindamba, Elaston Phiri - born Sept 1931; V: Samama; T.A.: Mponda;
D: Mangochi; After Standard Six 1943
joined teaching; Int: Aug 1980
- Koloti, Edward Andrew - born 1929; V: Mkumba; T.A.: Jalasi; D:
Mangochi; reached Standard Three 1945; retired
pupil teacher; Int: Aug 1980
- Guma, Dustan Augustine - born Sept 1931; V: Nkhope; T.A.: Namkumba;
D: Mangochi; After Standard Six joined
teaching; Int: Aug 1980
- Lisyausyo, Emmanuel - born Oct 1929; V: Kadongo; T.A.: Makanjira;
D: Mangochi; Joined teaching after Standard
Six; Int: Aug 1980
- Majawa, Samson Leslie - born Oct 1932; V: Mponda; T.A.: Mponda;
D: Mangochi; Completed Standard Six but
joined no profession; Int: Aug 1980
- Malikebu, William Joseph - born 1927; V: Chindamba; D: Mangochi;
Attained Standard Six 1944 and became
Medical Assistant; Int: Aug 1980
- Mponda, Laurent - born 1932; V: Mandimba; T.A.: Mpima; D:
Nkhata Bay; After Standard Six he got a job as
Medical Assistant; Int: Aug 1983
- Ndomondo, George Cecil - born 1932; V: Chipeta; T.A.: Mponda;
D: Mangochi; Reached Standard Eight 1948, after
a long sojourn in teaching joined the Church
Ministry; Int: Aug 1980
- g) Chibambo, Rev - c. 60 years old; General Secretary of Livingstonia
Synod of the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian;
Int: 10 Sept 1980
- Evans, J. B. - one time Vice-Chairman of the Anglo-African Association;
Int: 5 Feb 1973 in Blantyre by C. Evans
- Labuschagne, Rev A.H. - D.R.C. Missionary in Malawi 1943-1982;
sometime Education Secretary of Nkoma Synod
of the C.C.A.P Int: 9 June 1981
- Louw, Dr Johann K. - D.R.C.M. lay missionary educationist in Malawi;
1942-1973; Int: 2 Feb 1980
- O'Leary, Father - Catholic missionary educationist from mid-1940's;
Int: 9 Sept 1980 as Education Secretary, Mzuzu
Bishopric.

Phiri, Councillor - born c. 1915; started schooling 1922; trained as teacher; Int: 10 Sept 1980 as Mayor of Mzuzu Municipality.

BRITAIN

Bernard, Rev Neil - Church of Scotland Regional Secretary, Central Africa, 1950-59; based in Blantyre, Malawi; later Africa Secretary of Church of Scotland; Int: Edinburgh 24 Nov 1981.

Bown, Prof Lalage - taught and responsible for Adult Education in West and Central African universities for more than 20 years. Now Professor of Adult and Continuing Education, University of Glasgow. Int: 1 May 1982 in Glasgow

Fiddes, R.W. - Worked in Malawi for over 20 years up to 1974 as secondary school teacher, Inspector of Schools and, for the last six years, Executive Secretary, Malawi Certificate of Education Board; Int: 13 Feb 1982 in Edinburgh.

Price, Thomas - Lay missionary, Church of Scotland in Malawi 1928-46, most of the time responsible for education; now retired after some years of teaching African Studies at University of Glasgow; Int: 17 Feb 1982 in Glasgow.

Read, Prof Margaret - Former Professor of Education, Colonial Dept, University of London Institute of Education; researched among the Ngoni of Malawi; Int: 11 June 1982 in London at age 94, a few months before her death.

Taylor, Miss Helen - Lay missionary 1933-1964 in the Free Church of Scotland Livingstonia Mission, Malawi; held various responsibilities including principalships of Livingstonia and London Teacher Training Colleges; Int: in Edinburgh on 23 Nov 1981.

Thomson, T.D. - born 1911; worked in colonial administration, Nyasaland 1934-1962; Officer-in-charge, Domas? Community Development Scheme 1949-54. Int: 2 April 1982 in Coldingham, Scotland.

B. Archival

i. Malawi National Archives, Zomba

This represented the most invaluable source of material both in depth and breadth. A special official arrangement granted me access to all relevant files up to 1961. Various missionary material and official reports and documents were examined. Although the M.N.A.

does not hold vast quantities of published books, the repository of unpublished papers on Malawi and Colonial Office communications is unrivalled, and only a partial listing of files consulted is possible. A wide selection of newspapers like the Nyasaland Times, Rhodesia Herald and Bwalo la Nyasaland is also available. The Modern Records section holds almost all the official material needed for this project.

2/13/2/1	Standing Committee on African Education	Box 4419
SMP 33062	Personal and Confidential	Box 5949
25966	Secret: Review of the Constitution	Box 5948
SMP 33062	Committee of Inquiry into African Education	Box 5949
47/4	Advisory Committee on African Education - Minutes	Box 3540
AFR 314	Read/Gwilliam Reports	-
AFR 323	Compulsory Education - African	Box 164
GEN 956	Educational Plans and Policies for the Second Five Year Period	Box 163
"	Education: Review of Colonial Policy	"
"	Binns File	"
GEN 959	International Regional Education Conference, Nairobi	"
AFR 394	The Establishment of Local Education Authorities and Primary Education - Policy	Box 148
GEN 963/52	Statistics for Binns Commission	Box 164
GEN 1018	Visit of Sir Christopher Cox, 1954	"
AFR 424	African Teachers and Training Policy	Box 148
3/198	Vocational Guidance	Box 3681
SMP 28825 Vol II	Parliamentary and Legco Questions on Educational Matters	Box 5947
SMP 20520	Note of Discussions with the Deputation from the Nyasaland Protectorate Council	Box 5948
SMP 14154	African Teachers - Conditions of Employment	"
SMP 33062 A	Conf. - Memoranda to the Committee of Inquiry Into African Education in Nyasaland	Box 5949
GEN 984	Careers in the Government Service	Box 164
C 10/1	Scholarships Policy 1953-1958	Box 4635
MP 295	Bursaries and Scholarships for Africans	Box 313
SMP 14159	Education for Africans - Secondary Schools	Box 4419
AFR 250	African Secondary Education - Policy	Box 142
SMP 36447	Expansion of Secondary Education	Box 5947
S1/478/34	Higher Education for Africans 1935-6	-
AFR 231	Central African College for Higher Education for Africans	Box 140
AFR 231 A	Memoranda to Commission on Higher Education for Africans	"
AFR 462	Committee on Higher Education for Africans	Box 149
SMP 25112	Recognition of Degrees of Indian Universities in Nyasaland	Box 2546
C 7/247	African Graduates 1957-59	Box 4634

AFR 463	African Higher Education - Policy	Box 149
AFR 326	Kanyenda African Mohammedan Schools	Box 3513
SMP 54/54	Muslim Schools - Kanyenda and Chipalamawamba	Box 3513
72	Kanyenda Muslim Schools	"
72/75	Kanyenda Muhammedan Schools	"
73	Chipalamawamba Islamic School	"
C3/19/11	Mohammedan Education	Box 4633
2/431	Muslim Education - General	Box 13508
2/432	Central Body - Muslim Education	Box 8116
2/433	African Mohammedan School Association	Box 13508
2/434	Sunni Muslim Association	"
54/54	Mins of the Management Committee of Kanyenda	Box 3513
	African Mohammedan School	Box 3513
12/4	Muslim Education 1959-61	Box 15039
SMP 35863	Visit of Sheikh Abdullah Saleh el- Farsy	Box 5947
3/19/11	Conference on Muslim Education	Box 3680
59/59	Kanyenda - General Correspondence	Box 17016
75B	Ndunde Madrassa School	Box 3513
AS 610	Asian Education - General	Box 10343
AS 616	Indian Chamber of Commerce	Box 10343
S1/195/38	Indian Association	-
	Asian Education - General Prior to 1949	Box 10346
4/50	Asian Education	Box 3533
AS 606	Visit of Inspector of Indian Schools	Box 10343
MP 4/58	Asian Education Ending 1953	Box 10346
S1/705/II/30	Definition of Half-castes and General Matters Regarding Their Status in Nyasaland	-
S1/1111/31	Anglo-African Association	-
MP 157	Anglo-African Association of Nyasaland	Box 312
MP 295/46	Advisory Committee on Eur-African Education	Box 313
EA 706	Eur-African Education - General	Box 10346
MP 17/50	Eur-African Education	"
252/46-47	Report of Inspector of the Eur-African School	Box 313
SMP 36371	Welfare of Coloured Children	Box 11738
2/332/1	Federal Ministry of Education - Minutes of the Advisory Committee	Box 3680
NY3/2/10	Minutes of the (European) Chamber of Commerce	-
EUR 109/52	Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Advisory Committee on European Education	Box 3540
EUR 109	Minutes of the Advisory Committee on European Education	Box 152
EUR 132	European Education - Policy	Box 153
EUR 104	Convent de la Sagesse	Box 311
EUR 118	Statistics of European School Children to 1958	Box 10342
NY5/1/9 - }		
NY5/1/11 }	Nyasaland Convention of Associations	-
S1/1587/27	European Education 1927-1932	-

47/4	Advisory Committee on European Education	Box 3540
47/8	Girls' Education - Correspondence	Box 3527
AFR 307	Female Education General	Box 145
26	Girls' Education - General Correspondence	Box 3527
26A/55	Girls' Education - Woman Education Officer	Box 3527
SMP 11437	Education of Women and Girls	Box 8106
3/192	Maud Kanweka	Box 3681
2/2/6/8	Nyasaland Council of Women	Box 8108

ii. The University of Malawi Library, Zomba

This still-expanding Library was useful mainly for published secondary sources with a few official Government reports. Apart from the several theses on microfilm and xerox on Malawi history, the collection of various journals, African, British and American, with bound back issues represents a valuable feature of this Library. Besides, a complete run of the Nyasaland Department of Education Annual Reports up to 1965 is available here.

iii. Public Record Office, London (P.R.O.)

At the time of the field research in Britain in 1982, access in the P.R.O. was restricted to material up to 1951. For this project the CO 525 series proved the most useful. However, apart from the inavailability of the post-1951 material, most of what was accessible was in fact on file in the Malawi National Archives. The major asset at the P.R.O. was the correspondence between the Colonial Office, Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, and the British missionary organizations such as the Church of Scotland, the Universities' Mission to Central Africa and the International Missionary Council, Edinburgh House in London. The following constitutes a partial listing of files consulted at the P.R.O.

CO 525/194/44070/5	
CO 525/202/44070/6	Minutes of the Advisory Committee on Education
CO 525/175/44070/1	Comments on Nyasaland Education Department Report, 1938
CO 525/185/44070/1	Nyasaland Education Department Annual Reports
CO 525/174/44070/3	Extracts from Draft Minutes of 88th Meeting of Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies
CO 525/190/44070/1	Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies
CO 525/190/44070/3/42-43	Minutes of the Conference of Directors of Education
CO 626/23	Nyasaland Sessional Papers No 23
CO 525/202/44070/6/47	Minutes of Special Meeting of Advisory Committee on African Education
CO 525/202/47	A.G. Fraser to W.E.F. Ward
CO 525/217/44070/6/50	
CO 525/199/44397	

CO 525/194/44070/1/1944	
CO 525/194/44070/2	Education Ordinance 1945
CO 525/202/44070/7	Minutes of the First Meeting of the Planning Committee of Advisory Committee on African Education
CO 525/202/44070/6/47	
CO 525/202/44070/10	
CO 525/203/44070/11/1949	
CO 5806/52	Local Educational Authorities
CO 525/179/44070/2/39	Education Amendment
CO 525/179/44070/3/39	Secondary Education for Africans
CO 525/179/44070/4/39	Indian Education
CO 525/194/44070/5	Establishment of School for Eur-Africans
CO 525/202/44070/6	Nyasaland African Congress Representations
CO 525/202/44070/7	Advisory Committees on Education
CO 525/194/44334	Post-War Development Committee - Nyasaland
CO 525/203/44070/1	Five Year Education Plan 1950-54

iv. Rhodes House Library, Oxford

The most interesting here was the collection of the University of Oxford Colonial Records Project which has amassed useful individual donations of papers from former colonial servants and interview records with the same. For lack of time it was impossible to look at all the relevant papers, the most important of which included those by or from I.F.G. Stott, V.J. Keyte, A.G. Fraser, R.F. Baxter, Barbara Moore, M.R. Harris, Major G.N. Burdon, H.R. Rowland, all of them with some experience or interest in Malawi's educational developments.

v. The British Museum, London

Not much new material on education in Malawi was available here although the Library holds a run of some of the Central African newspapers such as the Nyasaland Times up to 1954.

vi. University of London, Malet St, London

The only useful section was the theses collection. Most of the available publications were thin on Malawi and on education. The dearth of education material was similar at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies. The Institute of Education Library, however, has some useful journals on comparative education.

vii. The National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh (N.L.S.)

Most comprehensive in its holdings of materials related to the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church of Scotland religious and educational activities overseas, the N.L.S. affords a rare opportunity to see its vast role in colonial education and the formulation of policy. By special permission access was possible to

the recent material in the period under study. The ACC 7548 series proved particularly useful and below is a partial listing of the files consulted.

ACC 7548	330B	Blantyre Mission Council Minutes
ACC 7548		African Education 1938-1952
ACC 7548	402B	MS 414-81 Missionary Education in Uganda and Kenya
ACC 7548	338B	Blantyre Secondary School 1938-1952
"	"	Secondary Education in Nyasaland
ACC 7548	330B	Statement of Educational Policy
ACC 7548		Minutes of Livingstonia Mission Council Executive Committee
ACC 7548	297B 4/1	Proposed Secondary School Classes at Livingstonia, Nyasaland
ACC 7548	402B	Secondary Education in the Colonies

viii. The Shepperson Collection

A useful personal collection privately held, Professor George Shepperson of Edinburgh University kindly made this available for my purposes. Some unpublished relevant documents provided important insights into African educational demands and conception, the Levi Mumba material being among the most interesting.

ix. The University of Edinburgh Library

This library holds an impressive collection of material on Africa in the Centre of African Studies section which also houses the SCOLMA specialist publications and documents, both Government and private, on Malawi and Zambia. By comparison the best and most elaborate sources on Malawi history in Britain are available here, with a sizeable range of primary documents and books in the Drummond Room. Various journals and periodicals on Africa and Colonial Government, and annual and Commission reports can be found in The Centre section. Missionary periodicals like the U.M.C.A.'s Central Africa, Report and The Church of Scotland's Life and Work now form part of the special collection in the Drummond Room.

x. Moray House College of Further Education Library

Apart from the National Library of Scotland this is the only library in Edinburgh keeping the colonial periodical, Oversea Education in whole run.

2 Published Primary and Secondary Sources

A. Official Reports and Publications

i) Nyasaland Protectorate

Annual Colonial Reports, 1938-1962

Education Department Annual Reports, 1938-1962

Memorandum on Native Policy in Nyasaland (Govt Printer, Zomba, 1939)

Proceedings of the Legislative Council (1949-60) Reports (Hansard)

Nyasaland Government Gazette

Report on the Native Education Conference 1927 (Government Printer, Zomba 1927)

Report of the Post-War Development Committee (Government Printer, Zomba 1945)

Report of the Secondary Education Committee (Government Printer, Zomba 1946)

Report on the Education of Women and Girls in Nyasaland, August and September 1947. (Government Printer, Zomba 1947). (By the Freda Gwilliam/Margaret Read Commission)

Revised Post-War Development Committee Report 1947 (Government Printer, Zomba 1947)

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A Plan for Educational Development 1957/61 (Government Printer, Zomba 1957)

Capital Development Plan 1957/61 (Government Printer, Zomba 1957)

Committee of Inquiry Into African Education: Report (Phillips) (Government Printer, Zomba 1962)

ii) Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland

Report on an Economic Survey of Nyasaland 1958-1959 (Jack Report) (Salisbury 1959) C. Fed 132.

Legacy of Progress: Achievements of the Federation 1953-63 (Salisbury, Dec 1963) C. Fed 269.

iii) Central African Council

Report of the Commission on Higher Education for Africans in Central Africa (Carr-Saunders Report) (Salisbury 1953)

iv) Colonial Office and British Parliament

British Parliament Hansard 1953,1958

Education Policy in British Tropical Africa (H.M.S.O. London, 1925)

Report of the Commission Appointed to Enquire into the Financial Position and Further Development of Nyasaland (Bell Report) (H.M.S.O., London 1938)

Report of the Royal Commission on Rhodesia and Nyasaland 1938-39 (H.M.S.O., London 1940) Cmd 5949

Statement of Policy on Colonial Development and Welfare (H.M.S.O., London 1940) Cmd 6175

Comparative Survey of Native Policy (in Central Africa) (H.M.S.O., London 1951) Cmd 8235

Closer Union in Central Africa (H.M.S.O., London 1951) Cmd 841

Nuffield Foundation, African Education: A Study of Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa (H.M.S.O. London 1953)

Inter-University Council, Report of the Inter-University Council for Higher Education Overseas 1946-1954 (H.M.S.O. London 1955) Cmd 9515

v) East African High Command

Report by the Fact-Finding Mission to Study Muslim Education in East Africa (Government Printer, Nairobi, 1958)

vi) Nigeria Government

Memorandum on Educational Policy in Nigeria (Sessional Paper 20/1947, Government Printer, Lagos, 1947)

vii) United Nations

U.N. Commission on the Status of Women: Report of the 14th Assembly, 28 March-14 April 1960 Supplement 7 (New York 1960)

viii) U.S. Agency for International Development

"Education for Development: Report of the Survey Team on Education in Malawi", (Blantyre, April 1964)

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